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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
ANCIENT GREECE,
ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS;

From the Earliest Accounts till the
Division of the Macedonian Empire in the East.

INCLUDING THE HISTORY OF
LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY, AND THE FINE ARTS.

By JOHN GILLIES, LL. D. F. A. S.

Εκ μὲν τοιγὲ τῆς ἀπαντῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλα συμπλοκῆς καὶ παραθεσεως,
ἐτι δὲ ὁμοιοτήτος καὶ διαφορᾶς, μόνως ἀν τις ἐφίκοιτο καὶ δυνήθει
κατοπτρευσῆς, ὅμα καὶ τὸ χρησιμὸν καὶ τὸ τέρπνον ἐκ τῆς ἱστορικῆς
λαβεῖν.
POLYBIUS, l. i. c. γ.

V O L. V.

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ANCIENT GREECE.

ITS COLONIES, AND CONQUESTS.

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BY JOHN GILBERT, LL.D. &c.

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CHAP. XXXVI.

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BY his intrigues Philip had obtained more important advantages, than he could have gained

2 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P.

XXXVI.

Philip
evacuates
Greece;
Olymp.
cviii. 4.
A. C. 345.

by a long series of victories. The conquest of Greece was his object; he had taken many preliminary measures towards effecting this purpose; while his conduct, so far from exciting the jealousy of those fierce republics, acquired their admiration and gratitude. Instead of rousing the dangerous resentment of a nation whom he was ambitious to subdue, Philip disarmed the hostility of Athens, and threatened with the vengeance of combined Greece, the only republic that appeared forward to obstruct his designs. It seemed high time, therefore, to withdraw his army; to set bounds, for the present, to his own triumphs; nor to attempt, with danger, effecting by premature force, what might be safely accomplished by seasonable policy. Before evacuating Greece, he took care to place a strong garrison in Nicæa, which might thenceforth secure his free passage through the straits of Thermopylæ. Macedonian troops occupied the principal cities of Thessaly, and the strongest posts of Phocis. He conducted with him into Macedon eleven thousand Phocian captives; an acquisition which he regarded as not the least valuable fruits of his success; and of which, on his return home, he determined immediately to avail himself.

found
Philip-
polis and
Cabyla;

The warlike tribes of Thrace, though often vanquished, had never been thoroughly subdued. In order to bridle the dangerous fury of those northern barbarians, Philip built two cities, Philipopolis and Cabyla¹, the first at the western extremity of the country, on the confines of mount

¹ Strabo, l. vii. p. 118.

Rhodopé, the second towards the east, at the foot of mount Hæmus, above a hundred and fifty miles distant from each other, and almost equally remote from the Macedonian capital. The Phocian captives, blended with a due proportion of Macedonian subjects, well provided with arms for their defence, were sent to people and cultivate those new settlements, whose flourishing condition soon exceeded the expectation of their founder. At the same time, Philip planted a colony in the isle of Thasos, which had formerly belonged to the Athenians; but that people having already lost possession of the gold mines at Philippi, on the neighbouring coast of Thrace, seemed now so indifferent about the possession of Thasos, that their transports were employed in conveying the Macedonians thither².

plants a colony in the isle of Thasos.

In such occupations, chiefly, Philip employed the first year of the peace, not neglecting to complete the ornaments of his capital; for which purpose he borrowed, as formerly, large sums of money from the richest citizens of Greece. The year following, he made an expedition into Illyria, and, at the expense of that country, extended his dominions from the lake Lychnidus to the Ionian sea. This district, about sixty miles in breadth, was barbarous and uncultivated, but contained valuable salt-mines, which had occasioned a bloody war between two neighbouring tribes. While Philip was absent in Illyria, an embassy arrived from Ochus king of Persia, who, alarmed by the

His expedition to Illyria; Olymp. cix. 1. A. C. 344.

² Demosth. de Haloneso.

4 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. XXXVI. magnificent reports of the growing greatness of Macedon, sent the most trusty of his ministers, who, under pretence of offering to Philip the friendship and alliance of the great king, might examine with their own eyes the strength and resources of a monarch, which were represented as so formidable.

during
which his
son Alex-
ander re-
ceives the
Persian
ambassa-
dors.

In the absence of his father, the young Alexander did the honors of the court; and it is said, that during an entertainment given to the Persian ambassadors, the prince, who had not yet reached his twelfth year, discovered such manly and premature wisdom, as already announced the dawn of a very extraordinary character³. Among other questions, that could not have been expected from his age, he inquired into the nature of the Persian government and art of war; the genius and disposition of the reigning sovereign; the distance of his capital from the coast, and the difficulty of the intervening roads⁴. Such inquiries, whatever talents they announced in the young prince, seem to prove that the conquest of Persia had been a frequent subject of conversation between Alexander and his instructors; and that an unbounded ambi-

³ Plutarch (in Alexand.) expresses himself strongly on this subject: "ὥς τε ἐκεῖνοις (the ambassadors) θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν λεγομένην Φιλίππου δεινότητα μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῷ παιδὶ ὄρμην καὶ μεγαλοπραγμοσύνην." — Read μεγαλοψυχίαν, and then the sentence may be literally explained; "So that the ambassadors wondered, and thought nothing of the famed abilities of Philip, compared with the spirit and magnanimity of his son." I recollect not having met with μεγαλοπραγμοσύνη in the writers of the Socratic age; but it is a good word to mark the character of a person "who busies himself about great objects."

⁴ Plutarch in Alexand.

tion had already taken possession of his youthful mind. The ambassadors heard him with astonishment, and exclaimed with that freedom which so wonderfully distinguishes the public transactions of ancient, from those of modern times, "Ours is a rich and powerful, but this will be truly a wise and great king".

Philip had no sooner returned from Illyria, than he made an excursion to Thessaly, and finally settled the affairs of that distracted country; having taken on himself the whole management of the revenue, and having divided the territory into four separate governments, in order to weaken the force of opposition, and to render the whole province more patient and submissive under the dominion of Macedon. While Philip was thus employed in Thessaly, his agents were not less active in confirming the Macedonian authority in the isle of Eubœa. Nor was he satisfied with securing his former acquisitions; he aspired at new conquests. The barren and rocky territory of Megara, divided, by an extent of only ten miles, the frontier of Bœotia from the isthmus of Corinth. The industrious and frugal simplicity of this little republic could not defend its virtue against the corrupt influence of the Macedonian. Philip gained

Philip's
transac-
tions in
Thessaly,
Eubœa,
and Me-
gara
Olymp.
cix. l.
A. C. 344.

⁵ I have used a little freedom with the words of Plutarch, *ὡς ὁ παῖς εἰς τὸν βασιλεὺς μεγάλῃ ὁ δὲ ἡμετέρος πλῆστιος*. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁶ Demosth. Philipp. iii.

⁷ Demosthen. de falsa Legatione, et Philipp. iii. In Philipp. iv. he speaks as if Philip had made some open attempt against Megara, in which he had failed: *ταύτης (scil. Εὐβοίας) ολιγωρή-μενης, Μεγαρα ἔαλω παρὰ μισθόν*, p. 54.

6 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. a party in Megara, which he cultivated with
XXXVI. peculiar care; because, being already master of
 Bœotia, Phocis, and Theffaly, the narrow ter-
 ritory of the Megarians formed the chief obstacle
 to his free passage into the Peloponnesus, the affairs
 of which, at this juncture, particularly deserved
 his attention.

Philip pre-
 pares to
 protect the
 inferior
 communi-
 ties of the
 Pelopon-
 nesus a-
 gainst the
 oppressions
 of Sparta.

The Lacedæmonians, repulsed by Philip, whom
 they had condescended to solicit, rejected by the
 Phocians, whom they offered to assist, and having
 lost all hopes of obtaining the guardianship of the
 Delphic temple, totally deserted a scene of action,
 in which they could expect neither profit nor
 honor, and confined their politics and their arms
 within the narrow circle of their own peninsula.
 For almost two years, Archidamus had labored
 with undivided attention, and with his usual address
 and activity, to extend the pretensions and the
 power of Sparta over the territories of Messenê,
 Argos, and Arcadia. His measures, planned with
 prudence, and conducted with vigor, were attended
 with success, though the inhabitants of the de-
 pendent provinces bore with much regret and in-
 dignation the yoke of a republic, which they had
 formerly spurned as oppressive and intolerable.
 Their murmurs and discontents were inflamed into
 hostility by the Thebans, the eternal enemies of
 Sparta, and, at that time, closely allied with the
 king of Macedon. To this monarch the Thebans
 applied, requesting him not to permit the destruc-
 tion of their confederates in the Peloponnesus.
 The intrigues and money of Philip had already
 gained him a considerable influence in that country,

which he was glad of an opportunity to increase. C H A P.
 To justify his proceedings for this purpose, he XXXVI.
 procured a decree of the Amphictyonic council,
 requiring him to check the insolence of Sparta,
 and to protect the defenceless communities which
 had so often been the victims of her tyranny and
 cruelty. Encouraged by this resolution of the
 Amphictyons, and impelled by his own ambition,
 Philip sent troops and money into the Pelopon-
 nesus, and prepared to march thither in person,
 at the head of a powerful army*.

These transactions excited new commotions and
 alarms throughout most countries of Greece. The
 Corinthians⁹, jealous of the power of a prince,
 who, at the close of the Phocian war, deprived
 them of their ancient prerogatives and honors,
 and who, still more recently, had taken possession
 of Leucas, a city in Acarnania, and of Ambracia
 in Epirus, both colonies of Corinth, determined
 to oppose his passage into the Peloponnesus.
 Weapons and defensive armor were provided, the
 walls and fortifications were repaired, mercenary
 troops were levied, the citizens exercised in arms,
 the whole republic glowed with the ardor of
 military preparation; insomuch that Diogenes the
 Cynic, who lost no opportunity to deride the follies
 of his contemporaries, beholding with just con-
 tempt the hurry and vain bustle of the effeminate
 Corinthians, that seemed so ill calculated to con-
 tend with the active vigor of Philip, began to

The Co-
 rinthians
 prepare to
 interrupt
 his march.

* Demosth. de Pace.

⁹ Lucian. de Conscriptend. Histor.

8 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. roll about his tub¹⁰, lest he should be the only
XXXVI. person unemployed in so busy a city.

Negocia-
tions in
Athens.

The Lacedæmonians, meanwhile, not less alarmed, but always better prepared for war, solicited the assistance of Athens. The latter state had received a considerable accession of strength, as well as of just honor and respect, from its hospitable reception of the distressed exiles from Phocis and Bœotia. It derived new consideration and lustre from the general congress of ambassadors from Sparta, Thebes, Macedon, Argos, Messenê, and Arcadia, who, after a long interval of time, again condescended to assert their respective claims before the Athenian assembly. The Lacedæmonians represented the league, formed against themselves, as alike dangerous to Athens and to Sparta; that the ambition of Philip would not rest satisfied with a partial conquest; his imagination already grasped the dominion of Greece; and now was the only time for the two leading republics, who had ever mutually assisted each other in seasons of calamity, to make a firm stand, and to exert their utmost vigor in defence of their own and the public safety, so shamefully abandoned by the Thebans, and by the mob of Peloponnesus¹¹. The Thebans joined with the ministers of Philip in calling on the Athenians to adhere strictly to

¹⁰ Auct. apud Brucker. in Vit. Diogen. That learned writer has collected all that is written for and against the tub of Diogenes. Were authors less explicit, the moveable habitation of this philosopher would be sufficiently attested by ancient monuments. See Winckelmann, d'Hancarville, etc.

¹¹ Οχλος Πελοποννησος. Hecrat. in Archidam.

their treaty of peace recently concluded with that prince; they endeavoured, by art and sophistry, to varnish or to palliate such deeds of fraud or violence as could not be altogether denied; and labored with the utmost assiduity to separate the views and interests of Athens and Lacedæmon on this important emergency. The ambassadors of the inferior states of Peloponnesus loudly complained, that the Athenians, who affected to be the patrons of liberty, should favor the views of Sparta, which had so long been the scourge of Greece. They represented this conduct as not only unjust and cruel, but contradictory and absurd; and used many plausible arguments to deter the people of Athens, who still strenuously asserted the freedom of Bœotia, from taking such a part in the present quarrel as might tend to rivet the chains of Peloponnesus.

The Athenian orators, many of them creatures of Philip, exhorted their countrymen not to break too hastily with a prince with whom they had so recently concluded an alliance, nor imprudently renew a bloody and destructive war, out of which they had been lately extricated with so much difficulty. They observed, that although the measures of Philip, since the conclusion of the peace, had indeed been more agreeable to the Thebans than to the Athenians, he had considered himself as bound in justice to chastise the sacrilege of the Phocians. Nor was he altogether at liberty to follow his own inclinations; surrounded by the Thessalian cavalry and the Theban infantry, he

Artful representations of the Macedonian partisans in Athens.

C H A P. was compelled to treat the enemies of those states
 XXXVI. with a severity which his own feelings disapproved. But the time was arrived when he might act with more independence and dignity; and that, could any credit be given to report, he was already preparing to rebuild the ruined cities of Phocis, and to fortify Elatæa, on the frontier of that territory, by which means he might thenceforth restrain and bridle the insolent cruelty of Thebes. These observations, however improbable, received great force from the peaceful, or rather indolent disposition of the people, who, though they heard with pleasure those who magnified their ancient grandeur, and inveighed against the injustice and ambition of Philip, were averse to employ either their money, or their personal service, in such active measures as could alone set bounds to the Macedonian encroachments.

Answered
 by De-
 mosthenes.

Demosthenes, last, arose, and pronounced a discourse, which the king of Macedon is said to have read with a mixture of terror and admiration¹². "When you hear described, men of Athens! the continual hostilities by which Philip violates the peace, I observe that you approve the equity and patriotism of those who support the rights of the republic: but while nothing is done, on account of which it is worth while to listen to such speeches, our affairs are brought to such a pass, that the more clearly we convict Philip of perfidy towards you, and of hostile designs against

¹² Plut. in Vit. Demosth. in lib. de Dec. Orator.

Greece, the more difficult it is to propose any seasonable advice. The cause of this difficulty is that the encroachments of ambition must be repelled, not by words, but by deeds. If speeches and reasonings sufficed, we should long ere now have prevailed over our adversary. But Philip excels in actions as much as we do in arguments; and both of us obtain the superiority in what forms respectively the chief object of our study and concern; we in our assemblies, Philip in the field.

“Immediately after the peace, the king of Macedon became master of Phocis and Thermopylæ, and made such a use of these acquisitions as suited the interest of *Thebes*, not of *Athens*. Upon what principle did he act thus? Because, governed in all his proceedings, not by the love of peace or justice but by an insatiable lust of power, he saw the impossibility of bending the Athenians to his selfish and tyrannical purposes. He knew that the loftiness of their character would never stoop to private considerations, but prefer to any advantage that he might offer them, the dictates of justice and of honor; and that neither their penetration, nor their dignity, could ever be prevailed on to sacrifice to a partial and temporary interest, the general safety of Greece; but that they would fight for each member of the confederacy with the same ardor as for their own walls. The Thebans he judged (and he judged aright) to be more assailable; he knew their folly and their meanness to be such, that provided he heaped benefits on themselves, they would assist him to enslave their

C H A P.
XXXVI.

He explains the measures, and points out the dangerous designs, of Philip.

€ H A P. neighbours. Upon the same principle he now
 XXXVI. cultivates, in preference to yours, the friendship
 of the Messenians and Argives; a circumstance,
 Athenians! which highly redounds to your honor,
 since Philip thus declares his persuasion, that you
 alone have wisdom to understand, and virtue to
 oppose, his designs, that you foresee the drift of
 all his negociations and wars, and are determined
 to be the incorruptible defenders of the common
 cause. Nor is it without good grounds that he
 entertains such an honorable opinion of you, and
 the contrary of the Thebans and Argives. When
 the liberties of Greece were threatened by Persia,
 as they now are by Macedon, the Thebans basely
 followed the standard of the invaders; the Argives
 did not oppose their arms; while the magnanimous
 patriots, from whom you are descended, spurned
 offers, highly advantageous, made them by Alex-
 ander of Macedon, the ancestor of Philip, who
 acted as the ambassador of Persia; and, preferring
 the public interest to their own, provoked the de-
 vastation of their territory, and the destruction
 of their capital, and performed, in defence of
 Greece, those unrivalled exploits of heroism which
 can never be celebrated with due praise. For such
 reasons, Philip chuses for his allies, Thebes, Ar-
 gos, and Messenë, rather than Athens and Sparta.
 The former states possess not greater strength,
 wealth, fleets, harbours, and armies; they have
 not more *power*, but less *virtue*. Nor can Philip
 plead the merits of their cause; since, if Chæronea
 and Orchomenus are justly subject to Thebes,
 Argos and Messenë are justly subject to Lacedæmon;

nor could it be equitable to enslave the inferior cities of Bœotia, and at the same time to teach those of Peloponnesus to rebel. C H A P. XXXVI.

“ But Philip was compelled to this conduct (for this is the only remaining argument that can be alleged in his defence). ‘ Surrounded by the Thessalian cavalry and Theban infantry, he was obliged to assist allies whom he distrusted, and to concur with measures which he disapproved. Hence the severe treatment of Phocis, hence the cruel servitude of Orchomenus and Chæronea. The king of Macedon, being now at liberty to consult the dictates of his own humanity and justice, is desirous to re-establish the republic of Phocis; and, in order to bridle the insolence of Thebes, actually meditates the fortifying of Elataea.’ This, indeed, he meditates, and will meditate long. But he does not *meditate* the destruction of Lacedæmon. For this purpose he has remitted money, he has sent his mercenaries, he is prepared, himself, to march at the head of a powerful army. His present transactions sufficiently explain the motives of his past conduct. It is evident that he acts from system, and that his principal batteries are erected against Athens itself. How can it be otherwise? He is ambitious to rule Greece; you alone are capable to thwart his measures. He has long treated you unworthily; and he is conscious of his injustice. He is actually contriving your destruction, and he is sensible that you see through his designs. For all these reasons he knows that you detest him, and that should he not anticipate your hostility, he must fall a victim to your

C H A P. just vengeance. Hence he is ever active and alert,
 XXXVI. watching a favorable moment of assault, and practising on the stupidity and selfishness of the Thebans and Peloponnesians; for if they were not stupid and blind, they might perceive the fatal aim of the Macedonian policy. I once spoke²³ on this subject before the Messenians and Argives; my discourse, which was useless to them, may, perhaps, not unseasonably be repeated to you. "Men of Argos and Messenë! you remember the time when Philip caressed the Olynthians, as he now does you: how highly, do you think, that infatuated people would have been offended, had any man talked against the benefactor, who had generously bestowed on them Anthemus and Potidæa? Had any man warned them against the dangerous artifices of Philip, would they have listened to his advice? Yet, after enjoying for a moment the territories of their neighbours, they were for ever despoiled of their own. Inglorious was their fall; not conquered only, but betrayed and sold by one another. Turn your eyes to the Thessalians. When Philip expelled their tyrants, could the Thessalians ever conjecture that the same prince would subject them to the creatures of Macedon, still more tyrannical and oppressive? When he restored them to their seat and suffrage in the Amphictyonic council, could they have been persuaded that he would one day deprive them of the management of their own revenues? As to you, Messenians and Argives! you have beheld Philip

²³ During his embassy to Peloponnesus, mentioned above.

smiling and deceiving; but beware! pray to Heaven, that you may never behold him insulting, threatening, and destroying. Various are the contrivances which communities have discovered for their defence; walls, ramparts, battlements, all of which are raised by the labor of man, and supported by continual expence and toil. But there is one common bulwark, which only the prudent employ, though alike useful to all, especially to free cities against tyrants. What is that? Distrust. Of this be mindful; to this adhere; preserve this carefully, and no calamity can befall you¹⁴.”

Demosthenes then read to the assembly the schedule of an answer, which he advised to be given to the ambassadors, and which was entirely favorable to the Lacedæmonians. At the same time he exhorted his countrymen to deliberate with firmness, yet with temper, on the means by which they might resist the common enemy; “an enemy with whom he had exhorted them to maintain peace, as long as *that* seemed possible; but peace was no longer in their power; Philip gradually carried on a vast system of hostile ambition, dismembering their possessions, debauching their allies, paring their dominions all around, that he might at length attack the centre, unguarded and defenceless.” Had the orator stopped here, his advice might have been followed with some useful consequences. But in declaiming against the encroachments of Macedon, his resentment was

C H A P.
XXXVI.

Impeachment of
Æschines
and Philocrates.

¹⁴ Demosthen. Orat. ii. in Philipp.

C H A P. naturally inflamed against Philocrates, Æschines, and
 XXXVI. their associates, whose perfidious intrigues and machinations had produced the public danger and disgrace. He strongly recommended to the injured people to impeach, condemn, and consign to due punishment those detestable traitors. This counsel was not given in vain to the litigious Athenians, who were better pleased to attend the courts of justice at home, than to march into the Peloponnesus. The city resounded with the noise of trials and accusations. Philocrates was banished¹⁵, and Æschines nearly escaped the same fate, by exposing the profligate life of his accuser Timarchus¹⁶.

Philip settles the affairs of the Peloponnesus.

Philip, meanwhile, unopposed and unobserved by his enemies, was sailing with a powerful armament towards Cape Tenarus, the most southern promontory of Laconia. Having landed there without opposition, he was joined by the Messenians, Arcadians, and Argives. The united army, after ravaging the most valuable part of the Lacedæmonian territories, besieged and took Trinasus, a maritime city of considerable strength and importance. The terror occasioned among the Spartans by these misfortunes, was heightened by extraordinary meteors in the air, whose unusual redness seemed to presage some dreadful calamity¹⁷. The alarm was so general, that it has been thought worth while to record the saying of a Spartan youth, who remained unmoved amidst the public

¹⁵ Æschin. in Ctesiphon.

¹⁶ Argum. in Æschin Orat. in Timarch.

¹⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. l. ii. c. xxxvi.

consternation.

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consternation. Being asked, "Whether he was not afraid of Philip?" "Why," replied the generous youth, "should I fear him? he cannot hinder me from dying for my country". But this manly resolution no longer animated the great body of the Spartan nation. Unable to meet the invader in the field, they sent Agis, the son of king Archidamus, to propose terms of accommodation, or rather to submit their whole fortune to the disposal of the Macedonians. The young prince coming alone and unattended, Philip expressed his surprise. "What, have the Spartans sent but one!" "Am I not sent to one?" was the manly reply of Agis¹⁸. This was the expiring voice of Spartan pride; for the king of Macedon, though unwilling to provoke the despair of a people, whose degenerate virtue might yet be animated by the institutions of Lycurgus and the example of Leonidas, compelled them to resign their pretended authority over Argos, Messen^e, and Arcadia; and settled the boundaries of those republics in a manner highly agreeable to the wishes of his confederates. Before leaving the Peloponnesus, he solemnly renewed his engagements to protect them; and in return, only required, on their part, that the magistracy in Argos should be intrusted to Myrtis, Teledamus, and Mnasia; in Arcadia, to Cercidas, Hieronymus, and Eucampidas; in Messen^e, to Neon and Thraflylochus, the sons of Iphiades; men whose names would merit eternal oblivion, if Demof-

¹⁸ Frontin. l. iv. c. v.

¹⁹ Plut. Apophth.

C H A P. thenes justly branded them as traitors²⁰; but a
 XXXVI. more impartial, and not less judicious writer²¹,
 asserts, that by early espousing the interest of Philip,
 they acquired many important advantages for their
 respective communities; that their sagacity having
 foreseen the final prevalence of the Macedonian
 power and policy over the weakness and folly of
 Greece, they acted wisely in courting the rising
 fortune of a prince, who was, at length, enabled to
 take complete vengeance on his enemies; a venge-
 ance which the Peloponnesians escaped by their
 own prudence and foresight, and from which the
 Athenians, after long provoking it, were finally
 delivered by the love of glory and magnanimity,
 which regulated the conduct, and adorned the
 victory, of Philip.

Philip pub-
 licly in-
 sulted at
 Corinth;

Having settled the affairs of Peloponnesus, the
 king of Macedon marched through that country
 amidst the acclamations of the people, who vied
 with each other in bestowing crowns and statues,
 the usual marks of public gratitude and admi-
 ration, on a prince who had generously rescued
 them from the cruel yoke of Sparta. At Corinth
 he passed some days in the house of Demaratus, a
 man totally devoted to his service; and assisted at
 the games and spectacles, which were celebrated
 in that city, by an immense concourse of people
 from the neighbouring republics. The turbulent

²⁰ Παρά γὰρ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἔτισι, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως, Φορὰν προδοτῶν
 καὶ δωροδοκῶν καὶ θεοῖς ἐχθρῶν ἀνθρώπων, συνέβη γενέσθαι, ὅσην ἔδειξ πῶ
 προτερον μνησθῆναι γεγονυῖαν. These traitors are named in Philipp.
 iii. et in Orat de Coronâ.

²¹ Polyb. iii. 72.

Corinthians, who, besides their innate hatred of kings, had particular causes of animosity against Philip, did not conceal their sentiments; and their inhospitable insolence was abetted by many Peloponnesians, who profited of the liberty of the place, and of the occasion, to testify their rooted aversion to the king of Macedon, and their unwillingness to owe their freedom and their safety to the interposition of a foreign tyrant. Philip was strongly urged by his courtiers to punish their ingratitude; but he knew how to digest an affront²², when forgiveness was more useful than vengeance; and repressed the unseasonable indignation of his attendants by observing, with admirable patience, "Were I to act with severity, what must I expect from men, who repay even kindness with insult²³?"

his moderation.

Philip extends the boundaries of Epirus, and seizes the Halonnesus. Olymp. cix. I. A. C. 344.

Philip proceeded from Corinth by the nearest route into Macedon, where he continued the remainder of that year, directing the improvements that were carrying on in his kingdom, and inspecting with particular care the education of his son Alexander, whose capacious and fervid mind, like a rich and luxuriant soil, producing promiscuously flowers and weeds, strongly required the hand of early culture²⁴. But these useful occupations did not divert his attention from the politics of neighbouring states. He extended the boundaries of Epirus, then governed by his brother-

²² Longinus has preserved the expression of Theopompus, "that Philip could easily swallow affronts."

²³ Plut. in Alexand.

²⁴ Plut. ibid.

C H A P. in-law Alexander, the most faithful and devoted of
 XXXVI. his vassals, by adding to that little principality the province of Cassiopœa, which was chiefly inhabited by Elian colonies. At the same time he exercised his fleet by wresting Halonneseus, an island near the coast of Thessaly, from the hands of corsairs, and kept possession of his conquest, without paying any regard to the claim of the Athenians, the ancient and lawful proprietors of the island²⁵.

Settles the
 commo-
 tions in
 Thrace,
 and pro-
 tects the
 Cardians.
 Olymp.
 cix. 2.
 A. C. 343.

Next year Philip was summoned into Upper Thrace by a rebellion of the petty princes in that country, fomented by Amadocus king of the Odrysians. The warlike tribes of that great nation, acting with little concert or union, were successively subdued; and the dexterity of the king of Macedon seconding his usual good fortune, he soon ranked the most obstinate of his enemies in the number of his vassals or courtiers²⁶. At his return from the inhospitable wilds of Thrace, he received into his protection the city and republic of Cardia, occupying the neck of land which joins the Thracian Chersonesus to the continent. The rest of the peninsula had long been subject to the Athenians, whose authority the citizens of Cardia always set at defiance. The Athenians had lately strengthened the Chersonesites by a new colony, which had continual disputes with the Cardians about the extent of their boundaries. Matters had actually come to a crisis, and the Cardians were ready to be overwhelmed by the strength and

²⁵ Demosth. Orat. de Halon.

²⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 464.

numbers of the enemy, when they were seasonably defended by the Macedonian arms²⁷.

The seizing of Halonnesus, the conquering of Grecian colonies for the tyrant of Epirus, above all, the open assistance given to their inveterate enemies, the Cardians, once more roused the Athenians from their lethargy. These fresh insults brought back to their recollection the ancient grounds of animosity, and the manifold injuries which they had suffered since the conclusion of the peace with Macedon. But instead of opposing Philip with arms, the only means by which he might yet be resisted with any hope of success, they employed the impotent defence of speeches, resolutions, and embassies. Their complaints were loud and violent in every country of Greece. They called the attention of the whole confederacy to the formidable encroachments of a Barbarian, to which there seemed no end; and exhorted the Greeks to unite in repressing his insolent usurpation²⁸.

Philip, who then agitated schemes from which he wished not to be diverted by a war with the Athenians, sent proper agents throughout Greece, to counteract the inflammatory remonstrances of that people; and dispatched to Athens itself, Python of Byzantium, a man of a daring and vigorous mind; but who concealed, under that passionate vehemence of language which seems to arise

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These measures rouse the Athenians from their lethargy.

Philip dispatches Python of Byzantium with a letter to that people.

²⁷ Demosthen. Orat. de Halon. p. 34 et Plut. in Vit. Eumen.

²⁸ Demosthen. de Chersoneso, p. 35, et seqq.

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XXXVI.

Its con-
tents.

from conviction and sincerity, a mercenary spirit, and a perfidious heart. Python had long ago sold himself, and, as far as depended on himself, the interest of his country, to the king of Macedon, from whom he now conveyed a letter to the senate and people of Athens, written with that specious moderation and artful plausibility, which Philip knew so well to assume in all his transactions. "He offered to make a present to the Athenians of the island of Halonnesus, and invited them to join with him in purging the sea of pirates: he entreated them to refer to impartial arbitrators all the differences that had long subsisted between the two nations, and to concert amicably together such commercial regulations as would tend greatly to the advantage of both. He denied that they could produce any proof of that duplicity on his part, of which they so loudly complained. That for himself, he was ready not only to terminate all disputes with them by a fair arbitration, but to compel the Cardians to abide by the award; and he concluded, by exhorting them to distrust those designing and turbulent demagogues, whose selfish ambition longed to embroil the two countries, and involve them in the horrors of war²⁹."

Diopet-
thes, the
Athenian
general in
Thrace,
acts vigor-
ously
against
Philip.

The subtle artifices of Philip, though supported on this occasion by the impetuous eloquence of Python, were overcome by Hegesippus and Demosthenes, who refuted the various articles of the letter with great strength and perspicuity, and unveiled the injustice of Philip with such force of

²⁹ Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33, et seq.

evidence, that the Athenians resolved upon sending a considerable armament to the Chersonesus, to protect their subjects in that peninsula³⁰. Diopeithes, who commanded the expedition, was a determined enemy to the Macedonians, and a man of courage and enterprize. Before he arrived in the Chersonesus, Philip, trusting to the effect of his letter and intrigues, had returned into Upper Thrace. Diopeithes availed himself of this opportunity to act with vigor. Having provided for the defence of the Athenian settlements in Thrace, he made an incursion into the neighbouring country; stormed the Macedonian settlements at Crobylé and Tiristasis; and having carried off many prisoners, and a considerable booty, lodged them in the safe retreat of the Chersonesus. On this emergency, Amphilocheus, a Macedonian of rank, was sent as ambassador, to treat of the ransom of prisoners; but Diopeithes, regardless of this character, ever held sacred in Greece, cast him in prison, the more surely to widen the breach between Athens and Macedon; and, if possible, to render it irreparable. With equal severity he treated a herald, whom he had taken in his late excursion, charged with letters from Philip; which were sent to Athens, and read in full assembly³¹.

The king of Macedon, when informed of these hostilities and insults, gave free scope to his complaints and threats; and his emissaries had an

The partisans of Philip cabal to ruin Diopeithes.

³⁰ Demosthen. seu Hegesipp. de Halon. p. 33, et seq.

³¹ Epistol. Philipp. et Liban. Argum. in Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.

C H A P. easier game at Athens, as Diopeithes had not only
XXXVI. violated the peace with Macedon, but, in order to maintain his troops, which were very sparingly supplied by the republic, levied considerable contributions from the Greek settlements in Asia. The partisans of Macedon inveighed against this commander as a robber and pirate, the common enemy of Greeks and Barbarians; Philip's letters demanded vengeance from the justice of Athens, if not, he would be his own avenger; the personal enemies of Diopeithes joined in the outcry, and insisted, that such a daring offender ought immediately to be recalled, and punished for his misconduct³².

He is
 power fully
 defended
 by Demos-
 thenes.

On this occasion Demosthenes undertook to defend the accused general, whose measures he warmly approved; and motives of private friendship heightening the ardor of patriotism, render his discourse on the affairs of the Chersonesus one of the most animated and interesting of his productions. The impeachment of Diopeithes he ascribes entirely to malice or perfidy, which had been too successfully employed to withdraw the attention of the Athenians from the main object of their concern, the continual encroachments of Philip, to unjust complaints and calumnies against their fellow-citizens. Diopeithes, if really criminal, might be recalled, and punished whenever they thought proper. A simple mandate from the republic could, at any time, reduce *him* to his duty. But

³² Demosthen. Orat. de Chersoneso.

Philip, the public enemy, who was continually infringing the peace, who, before the expedition of Diopeithes, had oppressed the Chersonesites, had stormed Serrium and Doriscus, how was Philip to be restrained, unless they repelled force by force? Instead of recalling their troops from the Chersonesus on the remonstrance of a crafty tyrant, who would not acknowledge himself at war with them, till he assaulted the walls of Athens, they ought to exert their utmost ability in augmenting the army in that quarter. Should their forces be withdrawn, Philip would wait the approach of winter, or the setting in of the Etesian winds, to fall on the Chersonesus. Will it then be sufficient to accuse Diopeithes? Or will this save our allies? "O, but we will fail to their relief". But if the winds will not permit you? Even should our enemy attack, not the Chersonesus, but Megara or Chalcis, as he lately did Oreum, would it not be better to oppose him in Thrace, than to carry the war to the frontiers of Attica? The exactions demanded by Diopeithes from the Asiatic Greeks are justified by the example of all his predecessors, who, according to the strength of their respective armaments, have always levied proportional contributions from the colonies; and the people who grant this money, whether more or less, do not give it for nothing. It is the price for which they are furnished with convoys to protect their trading vessels from rapine and piracy. If Diopeithes had not that resource, how could he subsist his troops, he who receives nothing from you, and who has

C H A P. nothing of his own? From the skies? No; but
 XXXVI. from what he can collect, and beg, and borrow. Who does not perceive that this pretended concern for the colonies, in men who have no concern for their country, is one of the many artifices employed to confine and fix you to the city, while the enemy keeps the field, and manages the war at pleasure? That such traitors should exist, is less surprising than that you should patiently receive from them such counsels, as Philip himself would dictate. For what else could the king of Macedon, who understands his own interest so well, advise, but that you should remain quietly at home, decline personal service in the war, deny pay to your soldiers, revile and insult your general? When a man, hired to betray you, rises up in the assembly, and declares Chares or Diopeithes to be the cause of your calamities, such an hypocrite is heard with satisfaction. You despise the voice of him, who, animated by a sincere love for his country, calls out, "Be not deceived, Athenians! Philip is the real cause of all your misfortunes and disgrace". The disagreeable truth renders the man who declares it odious; for the insidious discipline of certain ministers has so changed your principles and characters, that you are become fierce and formidable in your courts of justice, but tame and contemptible in the field. You rejoice, therefore, to hear your distresses charged on those whom you can punish at home; but are unwilling to believe that it proceeds from a public enemy, whom you must oppose with arms in your hands. Yet,

Athenians, if the states of Greece should thus call you to account for your conduct: "Men of Athens, you are continually sending embassies to assure us, that Philip is projecting *our* ruin, and *that* of all the Greeks. But O, most wretched of mankind! when this common foe was detained six months abroad by sickness, the severity of winter, and the armies of his enemies, did you profit by that opportunity to recover your lost possessions? Did you restore even Eubœa to liberty, and expel those troops and tyrants who had been placed there in ambush, and directly opposite to Attica? No. You have remained insensible to your wrongs, and fully convinced us, that were Philip ten times to die, it would not inspire you with the least degree of vigor. Why then these embassies, these accusations, all this unnecessary ferment! If the Greeks should ask this, what could we answer? I know not.

"There are men who think to perplex a well-intentioned speaker by asking, What ought we to do? My answer is sincere, None of those things which you do at present. I explain my opinion at greater length, and may you be as ready to receive, as to ask, advice! First of all, you must hold it as a matter of firm belief, that Philip has broken the peace, and is at war with your republic: that he is an enemy to your city; to the ground on which it stands, to all those who inhabit it, and not least to such as are most distinguished by his favors.

C H A P. The fate of Euthykrates and Laſthenes ³³, citizens
 XXXVI. of Olynthus, may teach *our* traitors the deſtruction that awaits them, after they have ſurrendered their country. But, though an enemy to your city, your ſoil, and your people, Philip is chiefly hoſtile to your government, which, though ill fitted to acquire, or to maintain, dominion over others, is admirably adapted to defend both yourſelves and them, to repel uſurpation, and to humble tyrants. To your democracy, therefore, Philip is an unrelenting foe, a truth, of which you ought to be deeply perſuaded; and next, that wherever you reſeſs his encroachments, you act for the ſafety of Athens, againſt which, chiefly, all his batteries are erected. For who can be ſo fooliſh as to believe, that the cottages of Thrace (Drongila, Cabyla, and Maſtira), ſhould form an object worthy of his ambition; that, in order to acquire them, he ſhould ſubmit to toils and dangers; that, for the ſake of the rye and millet of Thrace, he ſhould conſent to ſpend ſo many months amidſt winterſnows and tempeſts; while, at the ſame time, he diſregarded the riches and ſplendor of Athens, your harbours, arſenals, gallies, mines, and revenues? No, Athenians. It is to get poſſeſſion of Athens, that he makes war in Thrace and elſewhere. What then ought we to do? Tear ourſelves from our indolence; not only ſupport, but augment, the troops which are on foot; that, as

³³ See above, c. XXXV.

Philip has an army ever ready to attack and conquer the Greeks, you also may be ready to succour and to save them ³⁴ ”.

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It is worthy of observation (because nothing betrays more evidently the tyrannical spirit of democracy), that Demosthenes does not propose the war in form, by bringing in a written bill or decree, to be approved or rejected by the votes of his countrymen. This decree must have been recorded among the Athenian archives; and, if the war should prove unfortunate, might be produced at some future time for the destruction of its author, whose enemies would not fail to allege this instrument as a proof that he had occasioned the rupture with Philip, and all the calamities consequent on that measure. The party accused would, in that case, vainly endeavour to shelter himself under the votes of the assembly, since an ordinary court of justice could call him to account for misleading the people ³⁵, and punish him with banishment or death. Demosthenes artfully glances at this disagreeable subject: “Rash, impudent, and audacious, I neither am, Athenians, nor wish ever to become; yet possess more true fortitude than the boldest of your demagogues, who, capriciously distributing honors and largesses on the one hand, and as capriciously impeaching, condemning, and confiscating on the other, have, in either case, a sure pledge of impunity in the flattery

Demof-
thenes
ventures
not to pro-
pose the
war in
form.

³⁴ Demosthen. Orat. de Chersones. p. 35, et seqq.

³⁵ By the γραφή παρανομιῶν. Vide Demosth. de Coron. passim.

C H A P. and artifices by which they have long seduced
XXXVI. the public. The courage of that minister is put to an easy trial, who is ever ready to sacrifice your permanent interest to your present pleasure. But he is truly courageous, who, for the sake of your safety and glory, opposes your most favorite inclinations, rouses you from your dream of pleasure, disdains to flatter you, and having the good of his country ever in view, assumes that post in the administration in which fortune often prevails over policy, knowing himself responsible for the issue. Such a minister am I, whose unpopular counsels tend to render, not myself, but my country great".

The Athenians oppose the common enemy with spirit by sea and land.

The arguments and remonstrances of Demosthenes not only saved Diopceithes, but animated the Athenians with a degree of vigor³⁶ which they had been long unaccustomed to exert. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Callias, who seized all Macedonian ships as lawful prize, and made a descent on the coast of Thessaly, after plundering the harbours in the Pelasgic gulph. A considerable body of forces was sent into Acarnania to repel the incursions of Philip, assisted by his kinsman and ally, Alexander of Epirus. The inhabitants of the island of Peperathus, trusting to the protection of Athens, expelled the Macedonian garrison from Halonnesus. Repeated embassies were dispatched to the Peloponnesians and Eubœans, exhorting them to throw off the ignominious yoke of Macedon, and to unite

³⁶ Vid. Epist. Philip.

with their Grecian brethren against the public enemy. Philip was not unattentive to these commotions, but his designs against the valuable cities on the Propontis and Thracian Bosphorus³⁷ being ripe for execution, he was unwilling to allow any secondary consideration to divert him from that important enterprise.

His intrigues and bribery had gained a considerable party in Byzantium, at the head of which was the perfidious Python, whose vehement eloquence gave him great influence with the multitude. A conspiracy was formed to surrender one of the gates of the city; the Macedonian army of thirty thousand men hovered round; but the design was suspected or discovered, and Philip, to screen his partisans from public vengeance, seasonably withdrew his army, and invested the neighbouring city of Perinthus. The news of these transactions not only increased the activity of Athens, but alarmed Ochus king of Persia, who being no stranger to Philip's design of invading his dominions, trembled at beholding that ambitious prince gradually approach his frontier. To prevent this danger Ochus adopted the same policy, which, in similar circumstances, had been successfully employed by his predecessors³⁸. The Persian gold was profusely scattered among the most eminent of the Grecian demagogues. Demosthenes, whose patriotism was not always proof

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XXXVI.

Philip attempts to get possession of Byzantium and Perinthus.
Olymp. cix. 3.
A. C. 342.

³⁷ Demosth. de Coron. Diodor. l. xvi. c. xxii.

³⁸ Plut. in Alexand.

C H A P. against an unworthy alliance³⁹ with interest, rejoiced
XXXVI. at being paid for doing what he considered as his duty. At Athens his invectives were louder than ever against the king of Macedon; and the affairs of Eubœa gave him an opportunity of exerting himself with equal zeal in that island.

The Athenians recover Eubœa.

The factious spirit of the Eubœans rendered them alike incapable of independence, and of remaining quietly under the government either of Athens or Macedon, to which they were alternately subject. The recent prevalence of the Macedonian party had been marked by many acts of violence and oppression. The cities of Chalcis, Oreum, and Eretria, prepared to rebel, having previously solicited assistance from Peloponnesus, Acarnania, Attica, and every province of Greece, which they had any reason to deem favorable to their views. From other states they brought back promises and hopes; from Athens they obtained, chiefly by the influence of Demosthenes, a considerable body of troops commanded by the brave and virtuous Phocion. The orator accompanied the expedition; and being allowed to address the popular assemblies in most of the cities of Eubœa, he inflamed them with such animosity against Philip and his partisans, that little remained to be done by the valor of the Athenian general. The Eubœans every where took arms in defence of their freedom, the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from the principal cities, and driven from one post to another, till they were compelled entirely

³⁹ Plut. in Demosth.

to evacuate the island. This event occasioned great joy at Athens; and the principal merit was ascribed to Demosthenes, who, at the motion of Aristonicus, a man of merit and eminence, was crowned by the senate and people with a golden crown; which honor was publicly proclaimed in the theatre of Bacchus, during the representation of the new tragedies, amidst an immense concourse of people, citizens and strangers ⁴⁰.

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The merit
of Demos-
thenes ac-
knowledg-
ed on this
occasion.

The loss of Eubœa was ill compensated to Philip by the military operations against Perinthus, in which he found an enemy worthy of his courage and perseverance. The town was situated on the sloping ridge of an isthmus, and strongly fortified both by art and nature, the houses and streets rising one above another like the seats of an amphitheatre, so that the higher edifices overlooked and defended the lower. Having scoured the neighbouring country with his cavalry, Philip exhausted, in the siege of Perinthus, all the military skill known to the ancients. He raised towers forty cubits high, which enabled his men to fight on equal ground with the besieged; his miners were busy at the foundation; at length the battering-rams advanced to the wall, in which a considerable breach was made. During this time, however, the townsmen had not been idle. The superior discharge of darts, arrows, and every kind of missile weapon from the Macedonian towers, had indeed dislodged the Perinthians from

Circum-
stances
which en-
abled the
Perinthi-
ans to
make an
obstinate
defence.
Olymp.
cix. 4.
A. C. 341.

⁴⁰ Demosth. de Coron. et Plut. in Demosth.

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those parts of the wall and battlements, against which the principal attack had been directed. But with incessant toil, the besieged built a new wall within the former, on which they appeared in battle-array, prepared to repel the enemy who entered the breaches ⁴¹. The Macedonians, who advanced with impetuous joy to reap the fruits of their labor, were infinitely mortified to find that their work must be begun anew. Philip employed rewards and punishments, and all the resources of his mind fertile in expedients, to restore their hopes, and to reanimate their activity. The siege recommenced with fresh ardor, and the Perinthians were thrice reduced to extremity, when they were unexpectedly saved, first by a large supply of arms and provisions from Byzantium, next by a strong reinforcement of men in Persian pay, commanded by Apollodorus, a citizen of Athens; and lastly by the advantageous situation of the town, which, being built in a conical form, presenting its apex or narrow point to the besiegers, gradually rose and widened towards the remoter parts, from which it was easy to observe all the motions of the enemy, and to overwhelm them with missile weapons as they advanced to the charge. Philip, ever sparing of the lives of his men, was deterred by this circumstance from venturing an assault, though his machines had effected a breach in the new wall: he therefore determined to change the siege into a blockade. Perinthus was shut up

⁴¹ Diodor. p. 466, et seqq.

as closely as possible by sea and land: part of the C H A P. XXXVI.
Macedonian troops who had become mutinous for want of pay (for Philip at this time owed above two hundred talents, or forty thousand pounds sterling), were indulged in plundering the rich territory of Byzantium, while the remainder were conducted to the siege of Selymbria, and soon after of Byzantium itself, the taking of which places, it was hoped, might compensate their lost labor at Perinthus ⁴².

During the military operations against the cities of the Propontis, Demosthenes did not cease exhorting his countrymen to undertake their defence, as essential to their own safety. The hostilities and devastations of Philip, he represented as the periodical returns of the pestilence and other contagious disorders, in which all men were alike threatened with their respective shares of calamity. He, who was actually sound and untainted, had an equal interest with the diseased and infirm, to root out the common evil, which, if allowed to lurk in any part, would speedily pervade and afflict the whole. The Macedonians now besieged Selymbria and Byzantium; if successful in these enterprises, they would soon appear before Sparta, Thebes, and Athens. Yet he knew not by what fatality the Greeks looked on the successive encroachments of Philip, not as events which their vigorous and united opposition might ward off and repel, but as disasters inflicted by the hand of providence; as a

The Thracian cities, supported by numerous allies, resist the arms of Philip.

⁴² Diodorus, l. xvi. c. xxii.

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C H A P. tempestuous cloud of hail, so destructive to the
XXXVI. vines in autumn, which all beheld, with horror, hovering over them, but none took any other means to prevent, than by deprecating the gods that it might not fall on his own fields⁴³. These animated and just representations of the common distress or danger, engaged the Athenians to enter into a close correspondence with the besieged cities⁴⁴. Demosthenes undertook a journey to Byzantium; and Leon, a Byzantine orator and patriot, the friend and fellow-student of the virtuous Phocion, resided as ambassador in Athens. At the same time the principal cities of the Propontis maintained an uninterrupted intercourse of good offices with each other, as well as with their allies of Rhodes and Chios, from whom they received repeated supplies of arms and provisions.

Philip attacks and defeats Diopetres, and justifies his conduct to the Athenians.

Philip, meanwhile, ceased not to assure the Athenians, by his letters and emissaries, that he was extremely desirous of maintaining peace with the republic, and gently chid them for their evident marks of partiality towards his enemies, which, however, he took care to ascribe, not to the general temper and disposition of the people,

⁴³ Ἀλλὰ ὁμῶς ταυτ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνεχονταὶ καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου, ὅνπερ οἱ τὴν χαλαζαν, ἐμοίγε δοκεσι θεωρεῖν· εὐχομενοὶ μὴ κατ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι γενεσθαι, κωλυεῖν δὲ ὀδεις ἐπιχειρῶν. Demost. in Philip. iii. p. 48. In the country where I now write (the Pays de Vaud) the beauty and force of this comparison is too well understood. Lofty mountains covered with snow, sunny hills, and fertile vallies. — Such too is the geography of Greece, which rendered the hail-storms so alarming and so destructive.

⁴⁴ Demosthen. de Coronâ.

but to the prevalence of a dangerous faction, inflamed by seditious and selfish demagogues. By a rapid march he had recently surprised an Athenian detachment ravaging the territory of Cardia. Diopeithes, the Athenian general in the Chersonesus, commanded this predatory band, who, after a slight skirmish, were repelled with the loss of their leader, slain by a dart, while he rallied his men with his voice and arm. Philip failed not, by letter, to excuse this act of hostility, to which, he assured the Athenians, that he had been compelled, much against his inclination: he affected to consider Diopeithes as the instrument of a malignant faction, headed by Demosthenes, rather than as the general of the republic; and as that commander had acted unwarrantably in plundering the Cardians, a people strictly allied with Macedon, Philip assured himself that the senate and people would not take it amiss that, provoked by repeated injuries, he had at length repelled violence, and defended the lives and fortunes of his long-injured confederates.

While the Athenians and Philip were on this footing of correspondence, the former sent twenty vessels laden with corn to the relief of the Selymbrians. Leodamas, who commanded this convoy, seems to have imagined that the treaty formerly subsisting between the two powers, would protect him from injury. But in this he was disappointed. His fleet was surrounded and taken by Amyntas, who commanded the naval force of Macedon, and who determined to retain his prize, without paying

Philip's
admiral
seizes an
Athenian
convoy de-
stined for
the relief
of Selym-
bria.

38 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. any regard to the complaints and remonstrances of
 XXXVI. Leodamas, who pretended that the convoy was not destined for Selymbria, but employed in conveying the superabundance of the fertile Chersonesus to the rocky and barren island of Lemnos.

Philip restores the captured vessels, and writes an artful letter to the Athenians.
 Olymp. cix. 4.
 A. C. 341.

The news of the capture of their ships occasioned much tumult and uneasiness among the Athenians. After frequent deliberations on this subject, a decree was framed for sending ambassadors to Philip, in order to redemand their property, and to require that Amyntas, if he had exceeded his instructions, should be punished with due severity. Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycrates, who were named for this commission, repaired without delay to Philip in the Hellespont, who, at their request, immediately released the captured vessels, and dismissed the Athenians with the following letter: "Philip king of Macedon, to the senate and people of Athens, Health. I have received three of your citizens in quality of ambassadors, who have conferred with me about the release of certain ships, commanded by Leodamas. I cannot but admire their simplicity in thinking to persuade me that these ships were intended to convey corn from the Chersonesus to the isle of Lemnos, and not destined for the relief of the Selymbrians, actually besieged by me, and nowise included in the treaty of pacification between Athens and Macedon. This unjust commission Leodamas received, not from the people of Athens, but from certain magistrates, and others now in private stations, who are too busy in urging you to violate

your engagements, and to commence hostilities C H A P.
 against me; a matter which they have more at XXXVI.
 heart than the relief of Selymbria, fondly imagin-
 ing that they may derive advantage from such a
 rupture. Deeply persuaded that our mutual in-
 terest requires us to frustrate their wicked schemes,
 I have given orders to release the captured vessels;
 and do you, in return, remove such pernicious
 counsellors from the administration of your affairs;
 and let them feel the severity of your justice. On
 my part, I shall endeavour to preserve inviolate
 the treaty, by which we stand mutually en-
 gaged ⁴⁵."

The moderated and friendly sentiments expressed
 in this letter afforded great advantage to the Mace-
 donian partisans at Athens. But Demosthenes,
 and Leon of Byzantium, spared no pains to detect
 and expose the artifices and duplicity of Philip,
 who employed this humble and peaceful tone,
 during his operations against the cities of the Pro-
 pontis, in order to stifle the resentment of the Athe-
 nians, at a crisis when they might act against him
 with peculiar advantage. In elaborate and power-
 ful orations ⁴⁶, in which, without urging any new
 matter, Demosthenes condensed, invigorated, and
 enlivened his former observations and reasonings,
 he convinced his countrymen of the expedience of
 being for once before-hand with their enemy, and
 of anticipating his designs against themselves by a
 speedy and effectual assistance to their distressed

Demos-
 thenes per-
 suades the
 Athenians
 to succour
 the be-
 sieged ci-
 ties in
 Thrace.

⁴⁵ Epist. Philip. in Demosth.

⁴⁶ Orat. iv. in Philip. et Orat. de Epist. Philip.

C H A P. brethren of Perinthus, Selymbria, and Byzantium.
 XXXVI. By his convincing eloquence the public councils were animated with a degree of energy and enthusiasm which had not appeared in them during many years, and which produced the last transitory glimpse of success and splendor, before the glory of Athens was extinguished for ever.

Dishonorable expedition of Chares. Olymp. ex. I. A. C. 340.

It was decreed by the senate and people, to fit out a fleet of a hundred and twenty gallies; but unfortunately the command was given to Chares, whose character rendered him as contemptible to the enemies, as he was formidable to the allies, of the republic. The Byzantines excluded him from their harbour, and he was defeated by Amyntas, the Macedonian admiral, of the opposite shore of Chalcedon. This disaster, which was chiefly occasioned by the incapacity of their commander, made the Athenians cast their eyes on Phocion⁴⁷, who, though ever ready to serve his country, was most frequently called for in times of danger and calamity.

Philip fails in his attempt to surprise Byzantium.

Before Phocion reached the Propontis, Philip, flushed with his naval success, made an attempt to storm Byzantium. That city was environed on three sides by the sea, and defended on the fourth by a strong wall, and a large and deep trench, covered by lofty towers, separated at small intervals from each other. Confident in the strength of the place and the abundance of their magazines, the inhabitants of Byzantium, without risking a sally, allowed Philip to carry on his works, and gradually

⁴⁷ Plutarch in Phocion.

to make his approaches to their walls. During his inaction of the townsmen, Philip carefully advanced his battering engines, and seemed determined to assault the walls; but, meanwhile, embraced proper measures for gaining the place by surprise. For executing this design, he chose the gloom of a tempestuous night; a determined band of Macedonians passed the ditch; the scaling-ladders were already fixed; when the centinels of Byzantium were alarmed by the barking of mastiffs, kept in the towers even in time of peace, to secure them in the night. The alarm spread with rapidity among the several guards, who rushing tumultuously from their respective stations, as if the enemy had been already masters of the town, were on the point of blindly assaulting each other, when a bright meteor, or repeated flashes of lightning, enabled them to distinguish their friends, and to discern the danger. Having formed in some degree of order, they advanced against the Macedonians, who had already gained the rampart from which they were with difficulty repulsed by superior numbers⁴⁸.

The defeat of this bold and dangerous enterprise did not discourage Philip from carrying on his operations with indefatigable diligence and vigor. His perseverance must finally have prevailed over the obstinacy of the besieged, had not the Athenian fleet, under Phocion, arrived in the Thracian Bosphorus. The Byzantines received

The Athenians, commanded by Phocion, save the Thracian cities; Olymp. cx. 1. A. C. 340.

⁴⁸ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 468.

C H A P. him with open arms, expecting that under such a
 XXXVI. commander, their auxiliaries would prove not less
 modest and inoffensive in their quarters, than active
 and intrepid in the field. Nor were their hopes
 disappointed; the arms of Philip were foiled in
 every rencounter; his artifices were met and eluded
 by similar address; nor could he expect by force
 or fraud to gain any advantage over an opponent
 alike brave and vigilant⁹⁹. The king of Mace-
 don, who had as much flexibility in varying his
 measures, as firmness in adhering to his purposes,
 was unwilling any farther to press his bad fortune.
 In the actual state of his affairs, he judged it ne-
 cessary to raise the siege of Byzantium, to with-
 draw his forces from Selymbria and Perinthus, and
 to leave the Athenians in possession of the northern
 shore of the Propontis. These were humiliating
 resolutions; but fortunately for Philip, an event fell
 out, which prevented the execution of them from
 reflecting much discredit on his arms or policy.

and ravage
 the Mace-
 donian
 territories.

Phocion, to whose conduct the safety of so many
 important cities was principally owing, sailed from
 Byzantium amidst the grateful vows and acclama-
 tions of innumerable spectators. In his voyage
 to the Chersonesus, he captured a fleet of victual-
 lers and transports, carrying arms and provisions
 for the enemy. When he arrived in that penin-
 sula, he repressed the insolence of the Cardians,
 who, reinforced by a Macedonian garrison, had
 recently undertaken an expedition against the city
 of Sestos. He recovered several places on the

⁹⁹ Plut. in Phocion.

coast of Thrace, which had reluctantly submitted C H A P.
to the dominion of the Macedonians; and, in XXXVI.
concert with the inhabitants, took such measures
as seemed most proper to protect the Athenian
allies in those parts, from future danger. Instead
of burdening the confederates with the mainte-
nance of his army, he plentifully supplied all the
wants of his soldiers from the enemy's country.
He commanded in person the parties that went out
to forage and to plunder; and in one of those ex-
peditions, received a dangerous wound, yet did
not embark for his return, until he had spread the
terror of the Athenian name, by ravaging with fire
and sword the hereditary dominions of Philip⁵⁰.

The meritorious services of Phocion were deep-
ly felt and acknowledged by the communities
whom he had protected and relieved⁵¹. The de-
liverance and gratitude of the Chersonesus, of
Perinthus, and of Byzantium, were testified by
crowns, statues, inscriptions, and altars; and are
still recorded in an oration of Demosthenes⁵²,
which has deservedly survived those perishing
monuments of gold and marble. The decree of
the Byzantines and Perinthians, after describing
the ancient and recent benefits of Athens towards
them, enacted, that, in return for those favors,
the Athenians should be entitled to the right of
intermarriage, the privilege of purchasing lands in
their territories, the freedom of their respective

Extraordi-
nary ho-
nors con-
ferred on
the Athe-
nians and
Phocion,
by the ci-
ties which
they had
relieved,

⁵⁰ Plut. in Phocion. et Diodor. ubi supra.

⁵² Demosthen. de Corona.

⁵¹ Idem, ibid.

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C H A P. cities, and the first and most honorable place in
 XXXVI. all their entertainments and assemblies : That
 whatever Athenians chose to reside with them should
 be exempted from all taxes : And that, further,
 three statues, each sixteen cubits high, should be
 erected in the port of Byzantium, representing the
 republic of Athens, crowned by the Byzantines
 and Perinthians : That this crown should be pro-
 claimed at the four principal festivals of Greece, in
 order to commemorate the magnanimity of Athens,
 and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perin-
 thians." The inhabitants of the Chersonesus were
 not less forward in their acknowledgments and re-
 wards. After a similar preamble, setting forth the
 manifold favors of their great and generous allies,
 they resolved to crown the senate and people of
 Athens with a golden crown worth sixty talents;
 and to consecrate an altar to Gratitude and the
 Athenians. These public and solemn honors
 afforded matter of equal triumph to Phocion, who
 had executed, and to Demosthenes, who had ad-
 vised the measures, in consequence of which such
 just glory had been acquired. At the distance of
 several years, the orator still boasted of this im-
 portant service. "You have frequently, Athe-
 nians ! rewarded with crowns the statesmen most
 successful in conducting your affairs. But name,
 if you can, any other counsellor, any other statef-
 man, by whose means the state itself hath been
 thus honored⁵³."

⁵³ Demosth. de Coron.

The circumstance which enabled Philip to elude the violence of the storm with which the hostility of Athens, Persia, and so many other powers, had been long preparing to overwhelm him, took its rise from an error of judgment, occasioned by that boundless ambition which formed the ruling passion of the Macedonian prince. Beyond the confines of Thrace, and beyond the northern frontier of the Lower Mœsia, dwelt a powerful Scythian tribe, in the valuable peninsula contained between the western waves of the Euxine and the majestic stream of the Danube. The roving and unsettled life of the Scythians, like that of their descendants the Tartars, had led them into this country, from their native and proper territories, embracing the six mouths of the Danube or Ister, the banks of the Boristhenes, and the shores of the Palus Mœotis, which districts in ancient times had the name of Little Scythia⁵⁴, and are still called Little Tartary⁵⁵. A monarch less warlike and less ambitious than Philip, might have observed, with indignation and regret, those fierce and rapacious Barbarians, extending themselves beyond their natural limits, and enjoying an establishment to the south of the Danube; which great river, as he was already master of Thrace, and counted the Triballi of Mœsia among the number of his tributaries, Philip's proud and usurping fancy had already grasped as the frontier of his empire, and the proper line of separation between barbarous and civilized

C H A P.

XXXVI.

Atheas
king of
Scythia
invites
Philip to
assist him
against the
Istrians.

⁵⁴ Herodotus et Strabo, passim. ⁵⁵ Geograph. de D'Anville.

C H A P. nations. It was not, therefore, without such excess
 XXXVI. of joy as transported him beyond the bounds of
 sound policy, that, amidst his preparations against
 the cities on the Propontis, he received an
 invitation from Atheas⁵⁶, who styled himself king
 of the Scythians, to march to his assistance, and
 to defend his dominions, consisting in the peninsula
 above-mentioned, against an invasion of the Istri-
 ans, which the domestic forces of Atheas were totally
 unable to resist. To this proposal was added a
 condition extremely alluring to the king of Mace-
 don, that if his auxiliary arms enabled Atheas to
 vanquish and expel the invaders, Philip should be
 named heir to the *kingdom* of Scythia; for, ac-
 cording to the fashion of ancient times, Atheas
 dignified with the name of kingdom, a territory
 little larger than the principality of Wales.

Perfidy
 and info-
 lence of
 that Bar-
 barian.

In greedily snatching this bait laid for his am-
 bition, Philip was not enough on his guard against
 the usual perfidy and levity of Barbarians; nor
 did he sufficiently consider, that by sending a power-
 ful detachment into Scythia, he must greatly
 weaken his exertions against the cities of the Pro-
 pontis. With an ardor and alacrity too rapid
 for reflection, he eagerly closed with the proposi-
 tions of Atheas, sent a great body of forces to the
 north, and promised to assist them in person at the
 head of his whole army, should they encounter
 any difficulty in the execution of their purpose.
 Meanwhile the warlike chief of the Istrians, whose
 courage alone animated, and whose conduct

⁵⁶ Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

rendered successful, the arms of his followers, was cut off by sudden death: the dispirited Istrians were attacked, defeated, and repelled; and, without the assistance of Macedon, Atheas once more regained possession of his kingdom. This unexpected revolution served to display the crafty and faithless Barbarian in his genuine deformity. The Macedonian troops were received coldly, treated with contempt, and absolutely denied their stipulated pay and subsistence. Their just remonstrances and complaints Atheas heard with scorn, and totally disavowed the propositions and promises of those who styled themselves his ambassadors; observing "how unlikely it was, that he should have solicited the assistance of the Macedonians, who, brave as they were, could fight only with men, while the Scythians could combat cold and famine; and that it would have been still more unnatural to appoint Philip his successor, since he had a son of his own, worthy to inherit his crown and dignity⁵⁷."

Upon receiving an account of the insolent behaviour of a prince who had so recently solicited his alliance, Philip, while still busily, but unsuccessfully, employed against the cities of the Propontis, sent an embassy to Scythia, requiring Atheas to satisfy the just demands of the Macedonian troops, and to indemnify himself for the expense incurred in his defence. The ambassadors found the king of Scythia in his stable, currying his horse. When they testified surprise at

C H A P.
XXXVI.Philip re-
monstrates
with him
in vain.⁵⁷ Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

C H A P. seeing him engaged in such an occupation, he
 XXXVI. asked them, Whether their master did not often employ himself in the same manner? adding, that for his own part, in time of peace, he made not any distinction between himself and his groom. When they opened their commission, and explained the demands of Philip, the subtle Barbarian told them, that the poverty of Scythia could not furnish a present becoming the greatness of their master; and that, therefore, it seemed more eligible to offer nothing at all, than a present totally unworthy of his acceptance⁵⁸.

Philip determines to chastise his ingratitude and perfidy.

This evasive and mortifying answer being brought to the king of Macedon when foiled and harassed, yet not disheartened, by his unprosperous expedition against Byzantium, furnished him with a very honorable pretence for raising the siege of that place, and conducting a powerful army into Scythia, that he might chastise the treacherous ingratitude of a prince, who, after having overreached him by policy, now mocked him with insolence. Having advanced to the frontier of Atheas's dominions, Philip had recourse to his usual arts, and sent a herald with the ensigns of peace and friendship, to announce his arrival in Scythia, in order to perform a solemn vow which he had made during the siege of Byzantium, to erect a brazen statue to Hercules on the banks of the Danube. The cunning Atheas was not the dupe of this artifice, which he knew how to encounter and elude with similar address. Without

⁵⁸ Justin. l. ix. c. ii.

praising or blaming the pious intention of the king, C H A P.
 he coolly desired him to forward the statue, which XXXVI.
 he himself would take care to erect in the appointed place; that should it be set up with his concurrence and direction, it would probably be allowed to stand; otherwise, he could give no assurance that the Scythians would not pull it down, and melt it, to make points for their weapons⁵⁹.

The return of the Macedonian herald gave the signal for hostility. Philip entered the country with fire and sword, destroying the forests and pasturage, and seizing the slaves and cattle, which formed the principal wealth of the Scythians. He seems to have employed several weeks in an expedition, the circumstances of which, were they essential to the design of this work, could not be related with any fulness or accuracy. Countries in a pastoral state are but thinly peopled; and Philip was obliged to divide his forces, in order to vanquish with greater rapidity the wandering hordes, separated from each other by wide intervals, according as a forest, a meadow, or a stream of fresh water, obtained their preference, and fixed their temporary abode. A party of Macedonian foldiers beat up the quarters of a numerous and warlike clan, by which they were repelled, with the loss of several slain or taken. Among the latter was Ismenias, an eminent musician, who had been invited by liberal rewards to reside at the court of Philip, after being long admired in Greece for his performance on the flute. This

Success of
his Scy-
thian ex-
pedition.

⁵⁹ Justin. l. ix. c. 2.

C H A P. distinguished captive was sent as a present to Atheas,
 XXXVI. who was so little delighted with his accomplishments, that having heard him perform, he acknowledged the neighing of his horse to be to his ear far more agreeable music. The skirmish in which Ismenias was taken, seems to have been the principal advantage obtained by the Barbarians, whose constitutional courage, and impetuous ill-directed fury, was every-where overcome by the disciplined valor of the Macedonian phalanx⁶⁰.

The nature and quantity of the booty.

Philip reaped such fruits from his expedition as might be expected by a victory over a people who had no king but their general, no god but their sword, and no cities but the ground on which they occasionally encamped with their herds and families. The spoil consisted in arms, chariots, twenty thousand robust captives, a greater number of mares, destined to replenish the studs of Pella⁶¹. We are not informed whether Philip erected the promised statue to the great founder and protector of his family and kingdom. It is probable that he imposed a tribute on the Scythians, as a mark of their submission and dependence, purposing to reduce them more thoroughly, when he had effected his great designs in Greece, to which country the silent operation of his intrigues now summoned his return.

Philip, on his return, surprised by the Triballi.

But while he marched southward at the head of an army encumbered with baggage and spoil, a very unexpected event threatened to blast his laurels, and to terminate at once his glory and his

⁶⁰ Justin. l. ii. c. 5.

⁶¹ Compare. Justin. l. ix. c. 2. et Strabo, p. 752.

life. Allured by the hopes of sharing the warlike plunder of the Scythians, the barbarous Triballi, who had been often conquered, but never thoroughly subdued, beset by ambush, and vigorously assaulted the Macedonians, entangled amidst the intricate windings of the mountains of Mœsia; hoping to cut off, by one stroke, the flower of a nation whose authority their own fierce spirit of independence had very reluctantly condescended to obey. The confusion and the danger was increased by a mercenary band of Greeks, who, harassed by the fatigues of war and travelling, always clamorous for pay, which was very irregularly paid them, and perhaps jealous of the Macedonians, seized the present opportunity to desert the standard of Philip, and to reinforce the arms of the Triballi⁶².

The king of Macedon, too prudent to undertake superfluous danger, never acquired by valor what might be obtained by stratagem; but when a necessary occasion solicited his courage and his prowess, he knew how to assume the hero, and (if we may transpose an ancient proverb) "to eke out the fox's with the lion's skin". The urgency of the present emergency summoned all the firmness of his mind. With his voice and example he encouraged the astonished and disheartened Macedonians; conducted his faithful guards to the heat of the battle, and fought with unexampled bravery, till the same weapon which pierced

Alexander
saves the
life of his
father.

⁶² Justin. l. ix. c. 3. Plut. in Alexand.

⁶³ Vid. Plut. in Lyfand.

C H A P. his horse, laid the rider senseless on the ground.
XXXVI. The young Alexander, who fought near him, derived peculiar glory from saving the life of his father, whom he covered with his shield, and defended by his sword, until his attendants conveyed him to a place of safety⁶⁴; the son so worthily succeeding to the command, that the tumult was fortunately appeased, and the Barbarians routed and put to flight. Philip's wound was attended with an incurable lameness, which he bore with much impatience. His magnanimous son endeavoured to remove his anxiety by asking, how he could be chagrined at an accident, which continually reminded him of his valor⁶⁵?

and de-
feats the
Triballi.

Philip ap-
pointed
general of
the Am-
phictyons.
Olymp.
cx. 2.
A. C. 339.

To repair the effects of this unforeseen delay, the Macedonians hastened through Thrace, where Philip, as he had reason to expect, was met by deputies from the Amphietyonic council, appointing him general of their forces, and requesting him to march into Greece with all convenient speed. The secret practices and intrigues, which had been ripening during the Scythian expedition, produced this extraordinary message, the remote as well as immediate causes of which deserve to be distinctly unravelled, being the last knot of a tragedy which involves the fate of Greece.

The situa-
tion of
Philip's
affairs en-
courages
the Athe-

The spirited resistance of Selymbria and Byzantium, the successful expeditions of Phocion in the Hellespont and Propontis, the prodigal terrors of Ochus king of Persia, who thought it impossible to

⁶⁴ Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. et Justin. l. ix. c. 3.

⁶⁵ Plut. in Alexand.

employ his wealth more usefully than in bridling the ambition of Philip; above all, the continual expostulations and remonstrances of Demosthenes, conspired to rouse the Athenians from the lethargy in which they had been long sunk, and animated them with a desire to carry on the war with activity and effect against the common enemy of Greece. In order to save the state, they consented (though probably not without a violent struggle) to abolish the very popular law, or rather abuse, introduced by Eubulus. The theatrical amusements, so passionately idolized by the multitude, were celebrated with less pomp and splendor; and the military fund was thenceforth applied to its original and proper destination. A fleet was equipped far superior to the naval strength of Macedon⁶⁶. The troops and partisans of that kingdom were driven from their ambushes in Megara, and in the neighbouring territories, where they had long watched an opportunity of destroying the liberty of Athens. Demosthenes, and Hyperides, an orator second only to Demosthenes, were dispatched into the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece, to persuade the several republics to second the generous ardor of the Athenians, whose recent success under Phocion added great weight to the arguments and eloquence of those illustrious statesmen⁶⁷.

Philip was accurately informed of all those transactions; and the alarm universally spread among his faithful emissaries, inclined them rather to exaggerate, than to conceal, the danger. Highly

C H A P.
XXXVI.

nians to
exert
themselves
with vi-
gor.
Olymp.
cx. 2.
A. C. 339.

Difficul-
ties with
which
Philip had
to struggle.

⁶⁶ Demosthen. de Coronâ.

⁶⁷ Idem, ibid.

C. H. A. P. XXXVI. provoked against the Athenians, the continual opposers of his greatness, he was unable to retaliate their injuries. If he attacked them by land, he must march through the territories of the Thebans and Thessalians, who, ever selfish and capricious would be ready to forsake him with his good fortune. His disgraceful expedition against the cities of the Propontis, rendered the present juncture extremely unfavorable to such a hazardous design. Nor could he attempt, with any prospect of success, to attack the enemy by sea, since the Athenian fleet so far exceeded his own, that it had interrupted, and almost totally destroyed, the commerce of Macedon.

His intrigues
with the
incendiary
Antiphon;

Amidst this complication of difficulties, Philip showed how well he understood the unsteady temper of the Greeks, by raising the siege of Byzantium, and burying himself in the wilds of Scythia, till the fuming animosity of his adversaries had time to evaporate. Not venturing on open hostility, he, meanwhile, employed two secret engines, which continued to work during his absence, and from which he had reason to expect very signal advantages before his return. There lived at Athens a man of the name of Antiphon, bold, loud, and loquacious in the popular assembly, in which, however, he had not a title to vote, much less to speak, his name not being recorded in the public register of the city. This defect passed long unobserved, through that supine negligence with which Demosthenes so frequently upbraids his countrymen. At length the treason of Antiphon (for the Athenians

regarded an unqualified voter in the assembly as a C H A P. usurper of sovereign power) was discovered, and XXXVL. arraigned by one of the many citizens to whom his insolence and calumny had justly rendered him obnoxious; in consequence of which impeachment, the supposititious Athenian was divested of his borrowed character, and driven with ignominy from a country, whose most august rights and honors he had usurped and disgraced. Stung with disappointment and rage, Antiphon had recourse to the king of Macedon, and offered himself for any enterprise, however bloody or desperate, by which, in serving the interest of Philip, he might gratify his own thirst for vengeance. The ambitious Macedonian kept his ends too steadily in view, and pursued them with too much ardor and perseverance, to be very delicate in choosing the means by which he might distress his adversaries. He greedily closed, therefore, with the proposal of Antiphon, in whom he rejoiced to find an instrument so fit for his service.

The superiority of the Athenians by sea, which their actual diligence in their docks and arsenals showed them determined to maintain and increase, formed the chief obstacle to the grandeur of Macedon. By whom the design was suggested, is unknown; but it was agreed between Philip and Antiphon, that the latter should return to Athens in disguise, insinuate himself into the Piræus, and lie there in concealment, until he found an opportunity to set fire to the Athenian docks, and thus destroy at once the main hope of the republic.

who attempts to set fire to the Athenian docks.

C H A P. While the artful king of Macedon eluded the storm
 XXXVI. of his enemies by wandering in the woods of Scythia, his perfidious accomplice lurked like a serpent, in the bosom of Athens, being lodged without suspicion in the harbour which glowed with the ardor of naval preparation, and into which were daily accumulated new masses of tar, timber, and other materials, alike proper for a fleet, and for the purpose of Antiphon.

The design detected by Demosthenes.

But the vigilance of Demosthenes discovered this desperate design, when on the point of execution. He immediately flew to the Piræus, dragged Antiphon from his concealment, divested him of his disguise, and produced him at the bar of the assembly. The capricious and deluded multitude, alike prone to anger and to compassion, were on this occasion very differently affected from what might be conjectured. Instead of execrating a wretch capable of such black deeds, they beheld, with pity, a man once regarded as their fellow-citizen, brought before them after a long absence, and accused, perhaps on vain presumptions, of such a horrid crime. They knew besides the wicked artifices of their orators, who, to increase their own importance, often terrified the public with false alarms and imaginary dangers. Æschines, and other partisans of Philip, were at hand to strengthen these impressions. They represented the whole transaction of Demosthenes as a complication of fraud and cruelty; loudly inveighed against his insolent triumph over the calamities of the unfortunate; and reproached his entering by force into the house

where Antiphon was concealed, as a violation of freedom pregnant with the most dangerous consequences, and as trampling on the respected maxim of Athenian law and religion, that every man's house was his sanctuary⁶⁸. Such was the effect of these clamors, that Antiphon was dismissed without the formality of a trial, and might, perhaps, have resumed his purpose with more security than before, had not the senate of the Areopagus more carefully examined the information of Demosthenes. By the authority of that court, the traitor was again seized, and tried. Torture which the institution of domestic slavery introduced and rendered familiar in Greece, extorted from him a late and reluctant confession; and his enormous guilt was punished with as enormous severity⁶⁹.

Had the detestable enterprise of Antiphon been crowned with unmerited success, Philip would have attained his purpose of ruining Athens, by a rude stroke of vulgar perfidy. But the engines which he set in motion for gaining the same end, at a time when he was obliged to fly the awakened resentment of Greece, and to bury in the wilds of Scythia the disgrace sustained before the walls of Byzantium, will not be easily matched by any parallel transactions in history, whether we consider the profound artifice with which the plan was contrived and combined, the nice adaptation of the several parts, or the unwearied dexterity with which

Philip's
intrigues
for embroiling
the affairs
of Greece.

⁶⁸ Lyfias passim in Agorat. et Eratosth.

⁶⁹ Demosthenes de Coron, who gives the honorable account of his own conduct described in the text.

C H A P. the whole was carried into execution. It is on this
 XXXVI. occasion that Demosthenes might justly exclaim,
 “ In one circumstance, chiefly, is Philip distinguished above all his ambitious predecessors, the enemies of Grecian freedom. His measures required the co-operation of traitors, and traitors he has found more corrupt and more dexterous than ever appeared in any former age ; and, what is most worthy of remark, the principal instruments of his ambition flourished in the bosom of that state, whose public councils most openly opposed his greatness⁷⁰”

His partisans sent from Athens as deputies to the Amphictyons.

The time approached for convening at Delphi the vernal assembly of the Amphictyons. It was evidently the interest of the Athenians, and might have been expected from their just resentment against Philip, that they should send such deputies to the city of Apollo, as were most hostile to the Macedonian, and most zealous in the cause of liberty and their country. But intrigue and cabal prevailed over every motive of public utility ; and the negligent or factious multitude were persuaded, at a crisis which demanded the most faithful and incorrupt ministers, to employ, as their representatives in the Amphictyonic council, Æschines and Midias ; the former of whom had so often reproached, and the latter had, on one occasion, struck Demosthenes in the public theatre⁷¹ ; and who were both not only the declared

⁷⁰ Demosth. de Coron.

⁷¹ Demosth. in Mid. et Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

enemies of this illustrious patriot, but, as well as their colleagues Diognetus and Thrasicles, the warm and active partisans of the king of Macedon. Soon after their arrival at Delphi, Midias and Diognetus⁷² pretended sickness, that they might allow Æschines to display, uncontrolled, his superior dexterity; and to act a part, which, requiring the deepest dissimulation, might be performed most successfully by a single traitor. The Amphictyons were employed in repairing the temple; the sacred offerings, which had been removed and sold by the impiety of the Phocians, were collected from every quarter of Greece; and new presents were made by several states, to supply the place of the old, which could not be recovered.

The Athenians particularly signalized their pious munificence, and sent, among other dedications, several golden shields, with the following inscription: "Taken from the Medes and Thebans, when they fought against Greece." This offering, highly offensive to the Theban deputies, was prematurely suspended in the temple; the Thebans murmured, the Amphictyons listened to their complaints, and it was whispered in the council, that the Athenians deserved punishment for presenting their gift to the god, before it had been regularly consecrated, together with the other offerings. Pretending high indignation at these murmurs,

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who presented a dedication to the temple highly offensive to the Thebans.

⁷² Æschines says, Διογνήτων πυρεττειν; "That Diognetus was seized with a fever, and that the same misfortune happened to Midias," p. 290.

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CHAP. XXXVI. Æschines⁷³ rushed into the assembly, and began a formal, yet spirited defence of his countrymen; when he was rudely interrupted by a Locrian, of Amphissa⁷⁴, a city eight miles distant from Delphi, which growing populous and powerful on the ruins of Crissa and Cirrha, had ventured to cultivate the Cirrhean plain, which, near three centuries before, had been desolated by the Amphictyons, solemnly consecrated to Apollo, and devoted to perpetual sterility⁷⁵.

The Athenians reproached by the deputy of Amphissa.

The artful Locrian, affecting a religious zeal not less ardent than the patriotism of Æschines, clamorously interrupted that orator, calling aloud in the assembly, that it ill became the dignity of the Amphictyons to hear with patience the justification, much less the praises of Athens, a city impious and profane, which, in defiance of human and divine laws, had so recently abetted the execrable sacrilege of the Phocians; that if the Amphictyons followed his advice, or consulted the dictates of duty and honor, they would not allow the detested name of the Athenians to be mentioned in that august council⁷⁶.

⁷³ Αρχόμενος δὲ μὲ λέγειν, καὶ προθυμότερον, πῶς εἰσέλκλυθός τις τῷ συνεδρίῳ. Æschin. p. 290.

⁷⁴ Æschines varnishes the story with inimitable address : ἀναβόησας τις τῶν Ἀμφισσέων, ἀνθρώπος ἀσελγέστατος, καὶ ὥς ἐμοὶ εὐφαινετο ἑδεμίας παιδείας μετεσχηκώς, ἰσως δὲ καὶ δαιμονίᾳ τινὸς ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν προχόμενος. "He was interrupted by the vociferation of a certain Amphissean, a man the most impudent, totally illiterate, and perhaps impelled to folly by some offended divinity."

⁷⁵ See these events particularly related, vol. i. c. v. p. 213.

⁷⁶ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

Æschines thus obtained an opportunity of exciting such tumults in the assembly as suited the views of Philip⁷⁷. In the ardor of patriotic indignation, which he knew so well to assume, he poured forth a torrent of impetuous invective against the insolent Locrian, and his city Amphissa; not only justified the innocence, but displayed with ostentation, the illustrious merit of the Athenians; and then addressing the Amphictyons with a look peculiarly earnest and expressive, "Say, ye Grecians! shall men who never knew the exalted pleasures of virtue and renown, be suffered to tear from us the inestimable rewards of glory so justly earned⁷⁸? Shall men, themselves polluted by sacrilege, and already devoted to destruction by the most awful imprecations, presume to call the Athenians profane and impious? Look down, ye reverend guardians of religion! look down on that plain (pointing to the Cirrhean plain, which might be seen from the temple), behold these lands anciently devoted to the god, but now appropriated and cultivated by the Amphisseans; behold the numerous

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Æschines
inveighs
against the
Locrians
for culti-
vating the
Cirrhean
plain;

⁷⁷ Demosthen. de Coronâ.

⁷⁸ The persuasive energy with which Æschines defends his treachery, or rather displays his patriotism, on this occasion, is not excelled by any thing in Demosthenes himself. Had the works of the latter perished, the two orations of Æschines (de falsâ Legatione, and in Ctesiphont.) would have justly been regarded as the most perfect models of eloquence produced by human genius. But the works, and even the name of Æschines, are eclipsed in the fame of his rival. So disproportionate are the rewards of acting a first and a second part, and so just the poet's advice to all candidates for fame:

Αἰὲν ἀριστερεὶν ἢ ὑπερισχόν ἐμμεναὶ ἀλλῶν.

C H A P. buildings which they have erected there, and that
 XXXVI. accursed port of Cirrha, justly demolished by our
 ancestors, now rebuilt and fortified." Æschines
 here read the oracle of Apollo, which condemned
 that harbour and those lands to perpetual desola-
 tion. Then proceeding with increased vehemence:
 "For myself, Ye Grecians! I swear, that I my-
 self, my children, my country, will discharge our
 duty to heaven; and, with all the powers and fa-
 culties of mind and body, avenge the abominable
 violation of the consecrated territory. Do you,
 Amphictyons! determine as wisdom shall direct.
 Your offerings are prepared, your victims are
 brought to the altar; you are ready to offer solemn
 prayers for blessings on yourselves, and on the re-
 publics which you represent. But consider with
 what voice, with what heart, with what confidence,
 you can breathe out your petitions, while you suf-
 fer the profanation of the Amphisseans to pass
 unrevenged. Hear the words of the imprecation,
 not only against those who cultivate the consecrated
 ground, but against those who neglect to punish
 them: "May they never present an acceptable
 offering to Apollo, Diana, Latona, or Minerva
 the provident; but may all their sacrifices and re-
 ligious rites be for ever rejected and abhorred!"

which ex-
 cites the
 third sa-
 cred war.

The warmth of Æschines occasioned the utmost
 confusion in the assembly. The golden shields
 irregularly dedicated by the Athenians, were no
 longer the subject of discourse. This slight

⁷⁹ Pausanias Phocic. et Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

impropriety disappeared amidst the enormous impieties of the Amphisseans, which had been so forcibly painted to the superstitious fancies of the terrified multitude. It was determined, after violent contentions between those who accused, and those who defended, this unhappy people, that the Amphictyons, having summoned the assistance of the citizens of Delphi, should next day repair to the Cirrhean plain, in order to burn, cut down, and destroy the houses and plantations, which had so long adorned and defiled that devoted territory. The ravagers met with little opposition in performing this pious devastation; but as they returned towards the temple, they were overtaken and assaulted by a numerous party of Amphisseans, who threw them into disorder, took several prisoners, and pursued the rest to Delphi. The signal of war was now raised; the insulted Amphictyons, in whose persons the sanctity of religion had been violated, complained to their respective republics, while the recent audacity of the Amphisseans aggravated their ancient crimes and enormities. But agreeably to the languor inherent in councils which possess only a delegated authority, the measures of the Amphictyons were extremely slow and irresolute; and when they at length raised an army under the command of Cottyphus, a Thessalian, and a creature of Philip's, their operations were ill conducted and unsuccessful⁸⁰.

Affairs were thus brought to the issue which had been expected by Æschines, and the accomplices

⁸⁰ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

The Am.
phictyons
appoint

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C H A P. who assisted him in promoting the interest of the
XXXVI. king of Macedon. They loudly declaimed in the
 Philip council against the lukewarm indifference of the
 their ge- Grecian states in a war which so deeply concerned
 neral. the national religion. "It became the Amphic-
 tyons, therefore, as the ministers of Apollo, and
 the guardians of his temple, to seek out and em-
 ploy some more powerful instrument of the di-
 vine vengeance. Philip of Macedon had for-
 merly given proof of his pious zeal in the Pho-
 cian war. That prince was now returning in tri-
 umph from his Scythian expedition. His assist-
 ance must again be demanded (nor would it be de-
 manded in vain) to defend the cause of Apollo and
 the sacred shrine." This proposal being approved,
 a deputation of the Amphictyons met Philip in
 Thrace. He received their welcome message with
 well-affected surprise, but declared his veneration
 for the commands of the council, which he should
 be ever ready to obey⁸¹.

Philip
 eludes the
 Athenian
 fleet by a
 stratagem.

The vigilant prince had already taken proper
 measures for acting as general of the Amphic-
 tyons, and provided a sufficient number of trans-
 ports to convey his army into Greece. He under-
 stood that notwithstanding the intrigues of Æschi-
 nes and his associates, the Athenians had been per-
 suaded by Demosthenes to oppose his design, and
 that their admirals Chares and Proxenus prepared
 to intercept his passage with a superior naval
 force. To baffle this opposition, Philip employed

⁸¹ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

a stratagem. A light brigantine was dispatched to Macedon with letters of such import as gave reason to believe that he purposed immediately returning into Thrace⁸². Besides writing to Antipater, his principal confidant and minister, he took care to mask his artifice, by sending letters to his queen Olympias. The brigantine designedly fell into the hands of the Athenians. The dispatches were seized and read; but the letter of the queen was politely forwarded to its destination⁸³. The Athenian admirals quitted their station, and Philip arrived, without opposition, on the coast of Locris, from whence he proceeded to Delphi.

Though the Macedonians alone were far more numerous than seemed necessary for the reduction of Amphissa, the king, in the month of November, dispatched circular letters through most parts of Greece, requiring from the Thebans, Peloponnesians, and other states, the assistance of their combined arms to maintain the cause of the Amphictyons and Apollo. The Thebans, rather intimidated by a powerful army in their neighbourhood, than inclined to the Macedonians, of whose designs they had lately become extremely jealous, sent a small body of infantry to join the standard of Philip. The Lacedæmonians, long disgusted with the measures of Greece, and envying the power of Macedon, which they had not public spirit to oppose, beheld all recent transactions with a contemptuous disregard, and seemed firm in

Philip defeats the Athenian mercenaries, and takes possession of Amphissa.

⁸² Polyæn. l. iv. c. ii.

⁸³ Plut. in Demetr.

C H A P. their purpose of preserving a fullen neutrality.

XXXVI. The Athenians, awakened by the activity of Demosthenes to a sense of their danger, opposed Philip with ten thousand mercenaries, despising the threats of the oracle, against those who took part with the impious Amphisseans. The orator boldly accused the Pythian priestess and her ministers of being bribed to Philippise, or to prophecy as might best suit the interest of Philip; while Æschines, on the other hand, accused his adversary of having received a thousand drachmas, and an annual pension of twenty minæ, to abet the impiety of Amphissa⁸⁴. The king of Macedon, without waiting for any farther reinforcement than that which he had received from the Thebans, besieged, took, and garrisoned that unfortunate city; and having routed and put to flight the Athenian mercenaries, spread the terror of his arms round all the neighbouring territory⁸⁵.

The Athenians, while they negotiate with Philip, raise a confederacy against that prince.

The news of these events occasioned dreadful consternation in Athens. The terrified citizens, who could not be persuaded to tear themselves from their beloved pleasures in order to defend Amphissa, believed the moment approaching when they must defend their own walls against the victorious invader. After less altercation and delay than usually prevailed in their councils, they sent an embassy to Philip, craving a suspension of hostilities, and, at the same time, dispatched their ablest orators to rouse the Greeks from their supine negligence, and

⁸⁴ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

⁸⁵ Demosthen. de Coronâ.

to animate and unite them against a Barbarian, who, under pretence of avenging the offended divinity of Apollo, meditated the subjugation of their common country. Megara, Eubœa, Leucas, Corinth, Corcyra, and Achaia, favorably received the ambassadors, and readily entered into a league against Macedon. Thebes fluctuated in uncertainty, hating the Athenians as rivals, and dreading Philip as a tyrant. The situation of the Theban territory, through which Philip must march before he could invade Attica, rendered the decision of that people peculiarly important. To gain or to retain their friendship, the intrigues of Philip, the eloquence of Athens, had been employed with unwearied assiduity. The Thebans temporized, deliberated, resolved, and changed their resolutions. The partisans of Athens were most numerous, those of Macedon most active, while the great body of the Theban people heard the clamors and arguments of both parties with that stupid indifference, and took their measures with that lethargic slowness, which disgraced even the heavy character of *Bœotians* ⁸⁷.

To fix their wavering irresolution, and to awaken their sensibility, Philip at length had recourse to the strong impression of terror. From the general wreck of Phocis, his foresight and policy had spared the walls of Elatæa, a city important by its situation between two ranges of mountains, which opened into Phocis and Bœotia. The citadel

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The Thebans fluctuate between the party of Philip and that of the Athenians.

Philip seizes Elatæa. Olymp. cx. 3. A. C. 328.

⁸⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 475. ⁸⁷ Demosthen. de Corona. ⁸⁸

C H A P. was built on an eminence, washed by the river
 XXXVI. Cephissus, which flowed in a winding course through
 Bœotia into the lake Copais; a broad expanse of
 water, which, by several navigable streams, com-
 municated with Attica. This valuable post, con-
 veniently situate for receiving reinforcements from
 Thessaly and Macedon, commanding the passage
 into Bœotia, distant only two days march from
 Attica, and which, being garrisoned by a power-
 ful army, might continually alarm the safety of
 Thebes and Athens, Philip seized with equal bold-
 ness and celerity⁸⁸, drew the greater part of his
 troops thither, repaired and strengthened the walls
 of the place, and having thus secured himself from
 surprise, watched a favorable opportunity of in-
 flicting punishment on the Athenians, who had
 given him sufficient ground to represent them as
 the enemies of the Amphictyonic council⁸⁹, by
 whose authority the king of Macedon affected to
 be guided in all his operations.

Alarm
 thereby
 excited in
 Athens.

We are not acquainted with the immediate ef-
 fect of this vigorous measure on the resolutions of
 the Thebans; but the terror and consternation of
 the uncorrupt part of the citizens, may be con-
 jectured by what happened on the same occasion at
 Athens. It was late in the evening when a courier
 arrived with the melancholy tidings that Philip had
 taken possession of Elatæa. The people had re-
 tired to their houses; the magistrates supped in the
 Prytanæum; but in a moment all were abroad.

⁸⁸ Diodor. et Demosthen. ubi supra. ⁸⁹ Æschin. in Ctesiphont.

Some hastened to the generals ; others went in quest of the officer ⁹⁰ whose business it was to summon the citizens to council ; most flocked to the market-place ; and, in order to make room for the assembly, pulled down or burned the temporary wooden edifices erected by the tradesmen or artificers who exposed their wares to sale in that spacious square. Before dawn the confusion ceased ; the citizens were all assembled ; the senators took their places ; the president reported to them the alarming intelligence that had been received. The herald then proclaimed with a loud voice. " That he who had any thing to offer on the present emergency, should mount the rostrum, and propose his advice." The invitation, though frequently repeated, was received with silence and dismay. The magistrates, the generals, the demagogues, were all present ; but none obeyed the summons of the herald, which Demosthenes calls the voice of their country imploring the assistance of her children ⁹¹.

At length that accomplished orator arose, and obtained the noblest triumph of patriotism ; having proposed, amidst universal consternation, an advice equally prudent, generous, and successful. He began by darting a ray of hope into the desponding citizens, and assuring them that, were not the Thebans, the greater part at least of the

Demosthenes exhorts the Athenians to oppose Philip to the utmost of their power by sea and land.

⁹⁰ Τον σαλπικτην ἐκάλεον, p. 317.

⁹¹ Καλῶς δὲ τῆς κοινῆς πατρίδος Φωνῆς τὸν ἐρχντα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἦν γὰρ ὁ κηρυξ κατὰ τῆς νόμου Φωνὴν ἀφίησι, ταυτὴν κοινὴν τῆς πατρίδος δίκαιον εἶναι ἡγεῖσθαι, p. 317. The passage that follows has been often cited, and can never be too much studied, as one of the finest examples of oratorical narration.

C. H. A. P. XXXVI. Thebans, hostile to Philip, that prince would not be actually posted at Elataea, but on the Athenian frontier. He exhorted his countrymen to shake off the unmanly terror which had surpris'd them; and, instead of fearing for themselves, to fear only for their neighbours, whose territories were more immediately threatened, and who must sustain the first shock of the invasion. "Let your forces," continued he, "immediately march to Eleusis, in order to show the Thebans, and all Greece, that as those who have sold their country, are supported by the Macedonian forces at Elataea, so you are ready to defend with your hereditary courage and fortune those who fight for liberty. Let ambassadors at the same time be sent to Thebes, to remind that republic of the good offices conferred by your ancestors; to assure the Thebans, that you do not consider them as aliens; that the people of Athens have forgot all recent hostilities with the citizens of Greece, and will never forsake the cause of their common country, which is actually, in a peculiar manner, the cause of Thebes. To this community, therefore, offer your most disinterested services. To make any demand for yourselves, would be highly improper in the present juncture. Assure them that you are deeply affected by their danger, and prepared generously to defend them to the utmost of your power."

The decree for that purpose, dated August.

These proposals being received with general approbation, Demosthenes drew up a formal decree for carrying them into execution; a decree which may be considered as the expiring voice of a people,

who, agreeably to the magnanimous counsel of C H A P.
 Pericles, had determined, that when every thing XXXVI.
 mortal perished, the fame of Athens should re-
 main⁹². Having painted, in the most odious
 colors, the perfidy and violence of Philip; and
 having stigmatized with due severity the recent

⁹² See vol. ii. c. xv. p. 363. In defending his own conduct, notwithstanding the unfortunate consequences with which it was attended, Demosthenes seems animated by the true spirit of Pericles. Βελομαι τι η παραδοξον ειπειν; η με προς διος η θεων! μηδεις την υπερβολην θαυμάση, αλλα μετ' ευνοιας ο λεγω θεωρησάτω· ει γαρ επασι προδηλα τα μελλοντα γενήσεσθαι, η προηδεσαν παντες, η συ προελεγε Αισχινη, η διεμαρτυρε βωων η κεκραγως, ο κδε εθβεγξω· κδε ετως αποστατεον τη παλει τχτων ην· ειπερ η δοξης η προγονων η τχ μελλοντος αιωνος ειχε λογον· The beauties of such passages, depending chiefly on the collocation of words and sentiments, of which Demosthenes, of all writers, was the greatest master, cannot be translated. The meaning is, "I will venture to say what is contrary to common opinion, and, in the name of the Gods! regard not its extravagance, but examine it with indulgence. Had all of you foreseen what was going to happen, had the consequences of our conduct been manifest, and had you, Æschines, repeatedly proclaimed them with a loud voice, you, who then opened not your mouth, yet the Athenians ought not to have forsaken the cause of Grecian freedom, unless they forsook their glory, their ancestors, and their renown with succeeding ages." The same thought is expressed in language still bolder, after the hearers are prepared for it, by a page of the most animated eloquence: Αλλα εκ εσι, οπως ημαρτετε, ανδρες Αθηναιοι, τον υπερ της απαντων ελευθεριας η σωτηριας κινδυνον ακριμενοι· & μοι τχς εν Μαραθωνι προκινδυνευσαντας των προγονων, etc. See the passage p. 343. He swears by those who fell at Marathon, Plataea, Salamis, and Artemisium, that the Athenians did not err in defending, with unequal fortune, and against superior force, the public safety and liberty. Such passages, when detached, may appear extravagant and gigantic; but, as in the church of St. Peter's, where all is arranged with such admirable symmetry, that no figure appears beyond the natural size, so, in the works of Demosthenes, nothing appears monstrous, because all is great.

C H A P. instances of his injustice and lust of power, the ora-
 XXXVI. tor concludes, "For such reasons, the senate and
 people of Athens, emulating the glory of their
 ancestors, to whom the liberty of Greece was ever
 dearer than the interest of their particular repub-
 lic, and humbly revering the gods and heroes,
 guardians of the Athenian city and territory, whose
 aid they now implore, have resolved to send to the
 coast of Bœotia a fleet of two hundred sail, to
 march to Eleusis with their whole military strength,
 to dispatch ambassadors to the several states of
 Greece, and particularly to the Thebans, encour-
 aging them to remain untterrified amidst the dan-
 gers which threaten them, and to exert themselves
 manfully in defence of the common cause, with
 assurance that the people of Athens, unmindful
 of old or later differences which have prevailed be-
 tween the two republics, are determined and ready
 to support them with all their faculties, their trea-
 sures, their navies, and their arms; well knowing,
 that to contend for pre-eminence with the Greeks
 is an honorable contest; but to be commanded
 by a foreigner, and to suffer a Barbarian to wrest
 the sovereignty from their hands, would tarnish
 their hereditary glory, and disgrace their country
 for ever".

Demosthe-
 nes per-
 suades the
 Thebans
 to join the
 standard of
 Athens.

The same undaunted spirit which dictated this
 decree, attended the exertions of Demosthenes in
 his embassy to Thebes, in which he triumphed
 over the intrigues of Amyntas and Clearchus, and
 over the eloquence of Philon of Byzantium, the
 emissaries employed by Philip on this important

occasion. The Thebans passed a decree for receiving with gratitude the proffered assistance of Athens; and the Athenian army having soon after taken the field, were admitted within the Theban walls, and treated with all the flattering distinctions of ancient hospitality⁹³.

Meanwhile Philip having advanced towards the Bœotian frontier, his detached parties were foiled in two rencounters with the confederates. Regardless of these losses, to which, perhaps, he purposely submitted, as necessary stratagems to draw the enemy from their walls, he proceeded with his main body, thirty-two thousand strong, to the plain of Chæronea. This place was considered by Philip as well adapted to the operations of the Macedonian phalanx; and the ground for his encampment, and afterwards the field of battle, were chosen with equal sagacity; having in view, on one side, a temple of Hercules, whom the Macedonians regarded as the author of their royal house, and the high protector of their fortune; and, on the other, the banks of the Thermodon, a small river flowing into the Cephissus, announced by the oracles of Greece as the destined scene of desolation and woe to their unhappy country⁹⁴. The generals of the confederate Greeks had been much less careful to avail themselves of the powerful

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Preparations on both sides for the battle of Chæronea.

⁹³ Demosthenes, who furnishes the above narrative avoids dwelling on the following melancholy events, which are related by Diodorus, l. xvi. p. 475, et seqq. Plut. in Alexand. Strabo, l. ix. p. 414. Justin, l. ix. c. iii. et Pausanias Bœotic.

⁹⁴ Plut. in Vit. Demosth.

C H A P. functions of superstition. Unrestrained by inauspicious sacrifices, the Athenians had left their city at the exhortation of Demosthenes, to wait no other omen but the cause of their country. Regardless of oracles, they afterwards advanced to the ill-fated Thermodon, accompanied by the Thebans, and the scanty reinforcements raised by the islands, and states of Peloponnesus, which had joined their alliance. Their army amounted to thirty thousand men, animated by the noblest cause for which men can fight, but commanded by the Athenians Lyficles and Chares, the first but little, and the second unfavorably, known; and by Theagenes the Theban, a person strongly suspected of treachery; all three creatures of cabal, and tools of faction, slaves of interest or voluptuousness, whose characters (especially as they had been appointed to command the only states whose shame, rather than virtue, yet opposed the public enemy) are alone sufficient to prove that Greece was ripe for ruin.

Alexander routs the Thebans.

When the day approached for abolishing the tottering independence of those turbulent republics, which their own internal vices, and the arms and intrigues of Philip, had been gradually undermining for twenty-two years, both armies formed in battle array before the rising of the sun. The right wing of the Macedonians was headed by Philip, who judged proper to oppose in person the dangerous fury of the Athenians. His son Alexander, only nineteen years of age, but surrounded by experienced officers, commanded the left wing, which

faced the Sacred Band of the Thebans. The auxiliaries of either army were posted in the centre. In the beginning of the action, the Athenians charged with impetuosity, and repelled the opposing divisions of the enemy; but the youthful ardor of Alexander obliged the Thebans⁹⁵ to retire, the Sacred Band being cut down to a man. The activity of the young prince completed their disorder, and pursued the scattered multitude with his Theffalian cavalry.

Meantime the Athenian generals, too much elated by their first advantage, lost the opportunity to improve it; for, having repelled the centre and right wing of the Macedonians, except the phalanx, which was composed of chosen men, and immediately commanded by the king, they, instead of attempting to break this formidable body, by attacking it in flank, pressed⁹⁶ forward against the fugitives, the insolent Lyficles exclaiming in vain triumph, "Pursue, my brave countrymen! let us drive the cowards to Macedon". Philip observed this rash folly with contempt, and saying to those around him, "our enemies know not how to conquer," commanded his phalanx, by a rapid evolution, to gain an adjacent eminence, from which they poured down, firm and collected, on the advancing Athenians, whose confidence of success had rendered them totally insensible to danger. But the irresistible shock of the Macedonian spear converted their fury into despair. Above a thousand

Philip de-
feats the
Athe-
nians.

⁹⁵ Plutarch. in Alexand.

⁹⁶ Polyæn. Stratagem. l. iv. c. ii.

C H A P. fell, two thousand were taken prisoners; the
 XXXVI. rest escaped by a precipitate and shameful flight. Of the Thebans more were killed than taken. Few of the confederates perished, as they had little share in the action, and as Philip, perceiving his victory to be complete, gave orders to spare the vanquished, with a clemency unusual in that age, and not less honorable to his understanding than his heart; since his humanity thus subdued the minds, and gained the affections, of his conquered enemies ²⁷.

Philip vi-
 sits the
 field of
 battle.

According to the Grecian custom, the battle was followed by an entertainment, at which the king, presiding in person, received the congratulations of his friends, and the humble supplications of the Athenian deputies, who craved the bodies of their slain. Their request, which served as an acknowledgment of their defeat, was readily granted; but before they availed themselves of the permission to carry off their dead, Philip, who with his natural intemperance had protracted the entertainment till morning, issued forth with his licentious companions to visit the field of battle; their heads crowned with festive garlands, their minds intoxicated with the insolence of wine and victory, yet the sight of the slaughtered Thebans, which first presented itself to their eyes, and particularly the sacred band of friends and lovers, who lay covered with honorable wounds, on the spot where they had been drawn up to fight, brought back these

²⁷ Pausan. Achaic. Diodor. et Justin, ubi supra.

insolent spectators to the sentiments of reason and humanity. Philip beheld the awful scene with a mixture of admiration and pity; and, after an affecting silence, denounced a solemn curse against those who basely suspected the friendship of such brave men to be tainted with criminal and infamous passions⁹⁸.

C H A P.

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But this serious temper of mind did not last long; for having proceeded to that quarter of the field where the Athenians had fought and fallen, the king abandoned himself to all the levity and littleness of the most petulant joy. Instead of being impressed with a deep sense of his recent danger, and with dutiful gratitude to Heaven for the happiness of his escape, and the importance of his victory, Philip only compared the boastful pretensions, with the mean performances of his Athenian enemies, and, struck by this contrast, rehearsed, with the insolent mockery of a buffoon, the pompous declaration of war lately drawn up by the ardent patriotism and too sanguine hopes of Demosthenes. It was on this occasion that the orator Demades at once rebuked the folly, and flattered the ambition of Philip, by asking him, Why he assumed the character of Thersites, when fortune assigned him the part of Agamemnon⁹⁹?

His levity
reprimanded by
Demades.

Whatever might be the effect of this sharp reprimand¹⁰⁰, it is certain that the king of Macedon indulged not, on any future occasion, a vain

The different
treatment of
the Athe.

⁹⁸ Plutarch in Pelopid.

⁹⁹ Idem in Demosthen.

¹⁰⁰ Plutarch ascribes to this smart observation the moderation of Philip's subsequent conduct.

C H A P. triumph over the vanquished. When advised by
XXXVI. his generals to advance into Attica, and to render
nians and himself master of Athens, he only replied, "Have
Thebans. I done so much for glory, and shall I destroy the
 theatre of that glory ¹⁰¹? " His subsequent conduct
 corresponded with the moderation of this senti-
 ment. He restored, without ransom, the Athe-
 nian prisoners; who, at departing, having de-
 manded their baggage, were also gratified in this
 particular, the king pleasantly observing, that the
 Athenians seemed to think he had not conquer-
 ed them in earnest ¹⁰². Soon afterwards he dis-
 patched his son Alexander, and Antipater, the
 most trusted of his ministers, to offer them peace
 on such favorable terms as they had little reason
 to expect. They were required to send deputies
 to the isthmus of Corinth, where, to adjust their
 respective contingents of troops for the Persian ex-
 pedition, Philip purposed assembling, early in the
 spring, a general convention of all the Grecian
 states; they were ordered to surrender the isle of
 Samos, which actually formed the principal station
 of their fleet, and the main bulwark and defence of
 all their maritime or insular possessions; but they
 were allowed to enjoy, unmolested, the Attic ter-
 ritory, with their hereditary form of government,
 and flattered by the acquisition of Oropus, for
 which they had so long contended with the un-
 happy Thebans ¹⁰³. It was not merely in being

¹⁰¹ Plutarch in Apophth.

¹⁰² Idem, *ibid.*

¹⁰³ Pausanias Bœotic. Diodorus, *ubi supra.*

deprived of this city, that the Thebans experienced the indignation of the conqueror. From the transactions between Macedon and Thebes, in the early part of his reign, Philip, thought himself entitled to treat that people, not as open and generous enemies, whose struggle for freedom deserved his clemency, but as faithless and insidious rebels, who merited all the severity of his justice. He punished the republican party with unrelenting rigor; restored the traitors, whom they had banished, to the first honors of the republic; and, in order to support their government, placed a Macedonian garrison in the Theban citadel¹⁰⁴.

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In his opposite treatment of the two republics, Philip, it is probable, was swayed neither by affection nor hatred; his generosity and his rigor were alike artificial, and both directed by his interest. Besides the different characters of the Thebans and Athenians, which rendered the former as sensible to the impression of fear, as the latter were susceptible of gratitude and esteem, the Thebans had too long, and too early, abandoned the cause of Greece, and too strenuously exerted themselves in establishing the power of Macedon, to acquire much reputation by one unsuccessful attempt to resist Philip, to which they had been at length roused less by their own public spirit or courage, than by the zeal and eloquence of Demosthenes. The Athenians, on the contrary, who from the beginning had opposed the views of this prince,

Causes
from
which it
proceeded,

¹⁰⁴ Justin. l. ix. c. iv.

C H A P. though with far less prudence and activity than
XXXVI. their situation required ; who , through the whole course of his reign , had continued to traverse his measures , and to spurn his authority ; and who , previously to the last fatal encounter at Chæronæa , had endeavoured to form a general confederacy , and when that proved impossible , had determined , almost unassisted and alone , to resist the common foe , seemed entitled to such gratitude and applause , as compassion bestows on ill-directed valor and unfortunate patriotism ; and the rigorous treatment of such a people must have shocked the sentiments , and exasperated the hatred , of every citizen of Greece , who yet retained the faintest tincture of ancient principles , or who was still animated by the smallest spark of public spirit.

Daring
measures
of the
Athenians
after their
defeat.

Philip too well understood his interest , thus to tarnish the glory , and risk the fruits of victory , although the daring and imprudent behaviour of the Athenians , after the battle , might have served to justify the harshest measures. The first news of their defeat filled the city with tumult or consternation. But when the disorder ceased , the people showed themselves disposed to place their whole confidence in arms , none in the mercy of Philip. Upon the motion of Hyperides¹⁰⁵ , a decree passed for sending to the Piræus their wives , children , and most valuable effects , together with the sacred images and ornaments of their gods. By the same decree , the rights and freedom of the

¹⁰⁵ Plut. in Vita Hyperid.

city were bestowed on strangers and slaves, and restored to persons declared infamous, on this one condition, that they exerted themselves in the public defence. Demosthenes, with equal success, proposed a decree for repairing the walls and fortifications, a work which, being himself appointed to superintend, he generously accomplished at the expense of his private fortune¹⁰⁶. The orator Lycurgus undertook the more easy task of impeaching the worthless Lyficles, whose misconduct in the day of battle had been the immediate cause of the late fatal disaster. In a discourse calculated to revive the spirit of military enthusiasm, which had anciently animated the Athenians, the speaker thus warmly apostrophized the conscious guilt of the mute and trembling general: "The Athenians have been totally defeated in an engagement; the enemy have erected a trophy to the eternal dishonor of Athens; and Greece is now prepared to receive the detested yoke of servitude. You were our commander on that inglorious day; and still *you* breathe the vital air, enjoy the light of the sun, and appear in our public places, a living monument of the disgrace and ruin of your country." The quick resentment of the hearers supplied the consequence, and the criminal was dragged to execution¹⁰⁷.

Neither the inflammatory decrees, nor the hostile preparations, of Athens, could shake the moderation of Philip, or determine him to alter the

Philip's
moderation
in
victory.

¹⁰⁶ Demosth. de Coronâ.

¹⁰⁷ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 477.

C H A P. favorable terms of accommodation, which he had
 XXXVI. already proposed by his ambassadors. The pa-
 triotic or republican party, headed by the orators
 just mentioned, breathed hatred and revenge; but,
 at the intercession of the Areopagus, which on this
 occasion acted suitably to the fame of its ancient
 wisdom, the prudent and virtuous Phocion¹⁰⁸ was
 appointed to the chief command. The discern-
 ment of this statesman and general, whose merit
 had been neglected while it was yet time to per-
 form any essential service, might easily perceive
 the vanity of attempting to recover the honor of
 a people, who, antecedently to their defeat by
 Philip, had been still more fatally subdued by their
 own pernicious vices. Amidst the important
 events of the Macedonian war, and amidst the
 dreadful misfortunes which, in consequence of its
 melancholy issue, hung over their country, a set of
 Athenian citizens, distinguished by their rank and
 fortune, and known by the appellation of the Sixty,
 from the accidental number of their original in-
 stitution, daily assembled into a club, where all
 serious transactions were treated with levity and
 ridicule, and the time totally dedicated to feasting,
 gaming, and the sprightly exercises of wit and
 pleasantry. This detestable society saw¹⁰⁹, with-
 out emotion, their countrymen arming for battle;
 with the most careless indifference they received
 accounts of their captivity or death; nor did the
 public calamities in any degree disturb their

Extreme
 corruption
 of the A-
 thenians.

Philip's
 modesty
 in his
 victory

¹⁰⁸ Plutarch in Phocion.

¹⁰⁹ Athenæus, l. xiv. p. 614.

festivity, or interrupt, for a moment, the tranquil course of their pleasures. Their fame having reached Macedon, Philip sent them a sum of money, to support the expense of an institution so favorable to his views. But what opinion must Phocion have formed of such an establishment; or how was it possible for any dispassionate man of ordinary prudence to expect, that a republic so totally degenerate, as to foster such wretches within its bosom, could successfully wage war against a vigilant and enterprising enemy?

The arguments of the wisest portion of the community for accepting the peace proffered by Philip, were strengthened and confirmed by the return of Demades with the Athenian prisoners taken at Chæronea, who unanimously blazed forth the praises of their generous conqueror. Ambassadors were accordingly dispatched to the king of Macedon, to accept and ratify the treaty of peace, upon the terms which he had condescended to offer; and the only marks of deference shown to the violent party, who still clamored for war, were, that Demochares, who ostentatiously affected a rude boldness of speech against Philip, was named among the ambassadors; and that Demosthenes, the irreconcilable enemy of that prince, was appointed to pronounce the funeral oration in honor of those slain at Chæronea.

Demochares acquitted himself of his commission with that extravagant petulance which naturally flowed from his character; and which, in the

C H A P.
XXXVI.

They determine to accept the terms of peace offered by Philip.

Demosthenes in honor of those slain at Chæronea.

Insolence of Demochares.

C H A P. Grecian commonwealths, too frequently disgraced
 XXXVI. the decency of public transactions. At their audience of leave, Philip, with less sincerity than politeness, lavished on the ambassadors his usual professions of friendship, and obligingly asked them, if there was any thing farther in which he could gratify the Athenians? "Yes," said Demochares, "hang thyself." The just indignation of all present broke forth against this unprovoked insolence, when Philip, with admirable coolness, silenced the clamor, by saying, "Let this ridiculous brawler depart unmolested;" and then turning to the other ambassadors, "Go, tell your countrymen, that those who can utter such outrages are less just and moderate, than he who can pardon them¹¹⁰."

Oration of Demosthenes in honor of those slain at Chæroneia.

The honorable employment conferred on Demosthenes, which showed that, notwithstanding the unfortunate issue of his counsels, the Athenians still approved his principles and his patriotism, might have been expected to elevate his sentiments and his language to the highest strain of eloquence. But the complexion of the times no longer admitted those daring flights to which he had been accustomed to soar; and the powers of the orator seem to have declined with the fortunes of his country. With too apparent caution he avoids the mention of all recent transactions, and dwells with tiresome minuteness on the ancient, and even fabulous parts, of the Athenian story. One

¹¹⁰ Seneca de Ira.

transient flash of light breaks forth towards the end of his discourse, when, commemorating the glory of the slain, he says, that the removal of those zealous republicans from their country was like taking the sun from the world¹¹¹; a figure bold, yet just; since, after the battle of Chæronea, there remained no further hopes of resisting the conqueror—the dignity of freedom was for ever lost, and the gloom of night and tyranny descended and thickened over Greece¹¹².

¹¹¹ Ὡς περ γὰρ εἰ τις ἐκ τοῦ κἀθεστηκότος κόσμου τὸ φῶς ἐξέλκοιτο, δυσχερὲς καὶ χαλεπὸς ἅπας ὁ λειπομένους ἡμῖν εἶος. ἔτω τῶνδε ἀνδρῶν ἀναιρεθέντων, ἐν σκοτει καὶ πολλῇ δυσκλείᾳ πᾶς ὁ πρῶτος ζήλος τῶν Ἑλληνῶν γέγονε. p. 155. “For as if light were taken from the world, the remaining life of mortals would be involved in difficulties and misery; so by the death of those warriors, the original glory of Greece was buried in darkness and ignominy.” Of this discourse, which Libanius denies to be genuine, many passages are corrupt, and many interpolated. The general debility of the whole may be explained by the observation in the text, without having recourse to the defence of Wolfius: “Oratorem Libanius Demosthenis esse negat ut vilem et imbecillum omnino. Quod quis miretur, cum et argumentum fit imbecille?”. Demosthen. edit. Wolf. p. 152.

¹¹² Hic dies universæ Græciæ, et gloriam dominationis, et vetustissimam libertatem finivit. Justin. l. ix. c. iii. Demosthenes, Diodorus, Strabo, and Pausanias, all express the same sentiments, and nearly in the same words.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Liberal Spirit of the Macedonian Government. — Philip appointed General of the Greeks. — Rebellion of Illyria. — Assassination of Philip. — His Character. — Accession of Alexander. — His Expedition against the Illyrians and Triballi. — He passes the Danube. — Rebellion in Greece. — Destruction of Thebes. — Heroism of Timoclea. — Alexander crosses the Hellespont. — State of the Persian Empire. — Battle of the Granicus. — Siege of Miletus and Halicarnassus. — Bold Adventure of two Macedonian Soldiers. — Alexander's judicious Plan of War. — Arts by which he secured his Conquests. — The battle of Issus. — The Virtues of Alexander expand with his Prosperity.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
Liberal
spirit of
the Mace-
donian go-
vernment.

THE Greeks acknowledged, with reluctance and sorrow, that by the decisive victory of Chæronea, Philip became master of their country*. But we should form a very erroneous notion of the Macedonian government, if we compared

* Demosth. Æschin. Diodor. Plutarch. Arrian, passim. I shall cite only the words of Strabo: “Χαιρωνεία δὲ ὅπου Φίλιππος ὁ Ἀμύντα μεγάλως νικῶντας Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ Βοιωτὰς καὶ Κορινθίους, κατέστη τῆς Ἑλλάδος κύριος.” And Chæronea, where Philip, the son of Amyntas, having conquered the Athenians, Bœotians, and Corinthians, in a great battle, rendered himself master of Greece.” Strab. Geograph. l. ix. p. 414.

it with the despotism of the East, or the absolute dominion of many European monarchs. The authority of Philip, even in his hereditary realm was modelled on that admirable system of power and liberty, which distinguished and ennobled the policies of the heroic ages². He administered the religion, decided the differences, and commanded the valor, of soldiers and freemen³. Personal merit entitled him to hold the sceptre, which, being derived from Jove, could not long be swayed by unworthy hands. The superiority of his abilities, the vigilant and impartial justice of his administration, formed the main pillars of his prerogative; since, according to the principles and feelings of the Macedonians, he who infringed the rights of his subjects⁴, ceased from that moment to be a king.

Having effected the conquest of Greece, the prudence of Philip could not be supposed ambitious of introducing into that country more severe maxims of government than those which prevailed

Nature and extent of Philip's authority in Greece.

² When Alexander, intoxicated with prosperity, claimed too exalted honors, he was told by Callisthenes the philosopher, "Οι πρόγονοι ἐξ Ἀργεῖς εἰς Μακεδониαν ἦλθον, καὶ διὰ ἄλλα νόμιμα Μακεδονέων ἀρχόντες διετέλεσαν. Your ancestors came from Argos to Macedon, and continued there, governing the Macedonians, not by force, but by law." Arrian. Exped. Alexand. p. 87.

³ In capital cases, says Curtius, the soldiers judged in time of war, the citizens in time of peace. He then adds, "Nihil potestas regum valebat nisi prius valuisset auctoritas;" scilicet populi. Curtius, l. vi. c. ix. p. 441.

⁴ A very mean subject literally told Philip, "If you refuse to do me justice, cease to be a king." Plut. Apophth.

C H A P. in Macedon. He affected, on the contrary, to
XXXVII. preserve inviolate the ancient forms of the republican constitution, and determined to govern the Greeks by the same policy with which he had subdued them. While Macedonian garrisons kept possession of Thermopylæ and the other strong holds of Greece, the faithful and active partisans of Philip controlled the resolutions, and directed the measures, of each particular republic. The superintendency of the sacred games, as well as of the Delphic temple, rendered him the only visible head of the national religion: in consequence of the double right of presiding and voting in the Amphiſtyonic council, he appeared in the character of supreme civil magistrate of Greece; and his illustrious victory at Chæronea over the only communities that opposed his greatness, pointed him out as the general best entitled to conduct the military force of Greece and Macedon in the long-projected invasion of Persia; an office which, as he might have assumed it without blame, he therefore solicited with applause from the impartial suffrages of the people⁵.

Philip
 named
 general
 of the
 Greeks.
 Olymp.
 ex. 4.
 A. C. 337.

That this condescension must have been highly flattering to the vanity of the Greeks, appears from the transactions at Corinth, where Philip, the year following the battle of Chæronea, had assembled a general convention of the Amphiſtyonic states⁶. In this assembly, Dius of Ephesus represented, with affecting energy, the vexations and

⁵ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556. Τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλόμενων αὐτὸν στρατηγόν, etc.

⁶ Diodor. l. xvi. p. 556.

oppression which the feeble colonies of Asia daily C H A P.
 experienced from the rapacious cruelty of the XXXVII.
 Persian satraps. The general voice of the assembly approved his complaint, while they recollected, with indignation, the continual outrages of a people who had anciently invaded their country, insulted their religion, burned their temples, and, not satisfied with these acts of vengeance, had reduced and oppressed their colonies, and uninterruptedly excited and nourished those cruel animosities which had long filled every part of Greece with sedition and blood⁷. Philip had private wrongs to urge against the Persians, whose hatred and jealousy had, on several occasions, thwarted his measures and disturbed his government. Yet he insisted chiefly on their public injuries, and notorious enmity to the whole Grecian name, the honor of which could only be redeemed by a successful expedition into Asia.

This expedition was determined with universal consent. Philip was appointed general of the confederacy; and (although the Lacedæmonians fully absented themselves from the convention) when the several states came to ascertain the contingent of troops which they could respectively raise, the whole, exclusive of the Macedonians, amounted to two hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse⁸; a prodigious force, of which the domestic dissensions of the Greeks had hitherto, perhaps, prevented them

Amount
of their
forces.

⁷ Isocrat. Orat. ad Philip.

⁸ Justin. l. ix. c. v.

Ε Η Α Ρ. from forming an adequate notion. On no former
XXXVII. occasion had the several republics appeared so thoroughly united in one common cause; never had they shown themselves so sensible of their combined strength; never had they testified such general alacrity to take the field, or such unlimited confidence in the abilities of their commander.

The ex-
pedition
retarded by
a rebellion
in Illyria,
and do-
mestic dis-
ensions in
Macedon.
Olymp.
cxi. 1.
A. C. 336.

It belongs to the biographers of the king of Macedon, to examine the circumstances of the bloody transaction which clouded this glorious prospect. In the general history of Greece, it is sufficient to mention, that Philip, having dispatched Parmenio with a body of troops to protect the Asiatic colonies, was prevented from immediately following that commander by an insurrection of the Illyrian tribes⁹. This unseasonable diversion from the greatest enterprise of his reign, was rendered more formidable by the domestic discord which shook the palace of Philip. A spirit less proud and jealous than that of Olympias, mother of Alexander, might have been justly provoked by the continual infidelities of her husband, who, whether at home or abroad, in peace or in war, never ceased to augment the number of his wives or concubines¹⁰. The generous mind of Alexander must naturally have espoused the cause of his mother, although his own interest had not been deeply concerned in preventing Philip from continually giving him so many new rivals to the throne. The young prince defended the rights of Olympias

⁹ Diodor. ad Olymp.

¹⁰ Athenæus, l. xiii.

and his own, with the impetuosity natural to his character; at the nuptials of Philip with Cassandra, the niece of Attalus, one of his generals and favorites, an open rupture broke out between the imperious father and his more haughty son¹¹; and the latter, concluding all those to be his own friends who were enemies to the former, sought refuge among the rebellious Illyrians, who were already in arms against their sovereign.

The dexterity of Philip extricated him from these difficulties. Having conquered the Illyrians, he softened Alexander by assuring him that his illustrious merit, which was alike admired in Greece and Macedon, had not escaped the anxious vigilance of a parent, who, by giving him many rivals to the throne, had only given him an opportunity of surpassing them all in glory and in the merited affection of the Macedonians¹². Soothed by this condescension, Olympias and her son again appeared at court with the distinction due to their rank; and to announce and confirm this happy reconciliation with his family, Philip married his beloved daughter Cleopatra to the king of Epirus, maternal uncle of Alexander; and celebrated the nuptials by a magnificent festival which lasted several days, during which the Greeks and Macedonians vied with each other in showing their obsequious respect towards their common general and master.

Amidst the tumultuous amusements of the festivity, Philip often appeared in public with

Philip extricates himself from these difficulties. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

Is assassinated in going to the theatre.

¹¹ Plutarch. in Alexand.

¹² Plut. Apophth.

C H A P. unguarded confidence in the fidelity and attachment
XXXVII. of all his subjects: but proceeding one day from the palace to the theatre, he was stabbed to the heart by Pausanias ¹³, a Macedonian; whether the assassin was stimulated merely by private resentment, or prompted by the ill-appeased rage of Olympias, or instigated to commit this atrocity by the Persian satraps; which last is asserted by Alexander ¹⁴, who alleged the assassination of his father among his reasons for invading the Persian empire.

His character.

Thus fell Philip of Macedon, in the forty-seventh year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign; the first prince whose life and actions history hath described with such regular accuracy, and circumstantial fulness, as render his administration a matter of instruction to succeeding ages. With a reach of foresight and sagacity peculiar to himself, he united all the prominent features of the Grecian character, valor, eloquence, address, flexibility to vary his conduct without changing his purpose, the most extraordinary powers of application and perseverance, of cool combination and ardent execution. Intercepted in the middle of his career by the hand of an assassin, he was prevented from undertaking the justest and noblest design of his reign; a design which he had long meditated, and in which his near prospect of success promised to reward the labors and dangers of his toilsome life. Had not his days been shortened

¹³ Diodor. et Justin. ubi supra.

¹⁴ Arrian. l. ii. c. iii. et Curtius, l. iv. c. i.

by a premature death, there is good reason to believe that he might have subdued the Persian empire; an enterprize more dazzling, but less difficult, than the exploits which he had already achieved. Had that event taken place, the arduous undertakings of his long and successful reign would have been ennobled and illuminated by the splendor of extensive foreign conquest; Philip would have reached the height of such renown as is obtained by the habits of activity, vigilance, and fortitude in the pursuit of unbounded greatness; and, in the opinion of posterity, would perhaps have surpassed the glory of all kings and conquerors, who either preceded or followed him. Yet, even on this supposition, there is not any man of sense and probity, who, if he allows himself time for serious reflection, would purchase the imagined grandeur and prosperity of the king of Macedon, at the price of his artifices and crimes, and to a philosopher, who considered either the means by which he had obtained his triumphs, or the probable consequences of his dominion over Greece and Asia, the busy ambition of this mighty conqueror would appear but a deceitful scene of splendid misery.

A prince who is his own minister, and almost the sole depositary of his own secrets, commonly leaves an arduous task for the labors of his successor. This difficulty presented itself to Alexander; but it was not the only circumstance that rendered his situation difficult. The regular order

C H A P.
XXXVII.

Difficulties attending the accession of Alexander to the Macedonian throne. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 336.

C H A P. of succession had never been clearly established in
XXXVII Macedon, and was, in some measure, incompatible with the spirit of royal government, which, as then generally understood, required such qualities and accomplishments in the first magistrate, as could not be expected from a promiscuous line of hereditary princes. The numerous wives of Philip had, however, been most fruitful in female offspring. Nor had Alexander much to apprehend from the rivalry of his brothers, since Ptolemy, born of Arsinoë, and afterwards king of Egypt, was reputed to be the son of Lagus, to whom Philip had married Arsinoë, while she was with child by himself; and Aridæus, the son of Philina, who, for six years after the death of Alexander, held a pageant royalty in the East, by the terror of his brother's name, and through the discordant ambition of his lieutenants, possessed not vigor of mind eagerly to dispute the succession. But Alexander's title was contested by Amyntas, son of Perdiccas, the elder brother of Philip, in whose name the last-mentioned prince originally administered the government, till the tender age of Amyntas being rejected by the Macedonians, Philip so little feared the revival of his pretensions to the throne, that he had given him his daughter Cyna in marriage. This new advantage strengthened the claim of Amyntas, which, it was probable, would be warmly supported by Attalus, a bold and enterprising commander, the personal enemy of Olympias and her son, of whom the former had recently put to death his

kinswoman Cleopatra, with shocking circumstances of cruelty. Alexander privately took measures with his friends for crushing those dangerous enemies¹⁵; and, being acknowledged king of Macedon, hastened into Greece to reap the fruits of his father's labors, which might be lost by delay.

In his journey thither, he experienced the perfidious inconstancy of the Thessalians, whom he chastised with proper severity; and having assembled the deputies of the states at Corinth, he was invested with the same honors¹⁶ which had been conferred on his predecessor. During his residence in that city there happened an incident which more clearly displays the character of Alexander, than can be done by the most elaborate description. Curiosity led him to visit Diogenes the cynic, whose singular manners and mode of life have been mentioned on a former occasion. He found him basking in the sun¹⁷, and, having made himself known as the master of Macedon and Greece, asked the philosopher what he could do to oblige him? "Stand from between me and the sun," was the answer of the cynic: upon which the king observed to his attendants, "that he would chuse to be Diogenes¹⁸ if he were not Alexander." The observation was natural and sublime; since, under the most dissimilar veils of external circumstances and pursuits, their characters concealed a real resemblance. Both possessed

C H A P.
XXXVII.

He is acknowledged general of the Greeks in an assembly of the states at Corinth.

His character displayed in his conversation with Diogenes the cynic.

¹⁵ Diodorus, l. xvii. 2, et seqq. et Justin. xi. 1, et seqq.

¹⁶ Idem, ibid.

¹⁷ Pausan. l. ii. p. 88.

¹⁸ Laertius, in Vit. Diogen.

C H A P. that proud erect spirit which disdains authority, **XXXVII.** spurns control, and aspires to domineer over fortune. But, by diminishing the number of his wants, Diogenes found, in his tub, that independence of mind, which Alexander, by the unbounded gratification of his desires, could not attain on the imperial throne of Persia.

His expedition
against the
Illyrians
and Triballi.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

Alexander, having returned to Macedon, prepared for his eastern expedition by diffusing the terror of his name among the northern Barbarians. The Illyrians and Triballi, mindful of the injuries of Philip, had hastily taken arms to oppose, ere it became too late, the youth and inexperience of his son. But the discernment of the young prince readily perceived the danger of leaving such formidable enemies on his frontier. With a well-appointed army, he marched from Amphipolis, and, leaving the city Philippi and Mount Orbelus on the left, arrived in ten days at the principal pass of Mount Hæmus, which led into the territory of the Triballi. There he found a new, and not less formidable enemy. The independent tribes of Thrace, having embraced the cause of the Triballi, had seized an eminence commanding the pass; and, instead of a breastwork, had fortified themselves with their carriages or waggons, which they purposed to roll down on the Macedonians. To elude this unusual attack, Alexander commanded such of his troops as could not conveniently open their ranks, and allow free issue to the intended violence, to fall flat on the ground, and carefully close their shields, that the descending

waggons

He defeats
the inde-
pendent
tribes of
Thrace.

waggon might harmless bound over them. In consequence of this contrivance, the hostile artillery was exhausted in vain. Alexander then attacked the Thracians with admirable order and celerity. Fifteen hundred fell; their swiftness and knowledge of the country saved the greater number. The prisoners, women, and booty, were sent for sale to the maritime cities on the Euxine¹⁹.

Alexander having intrusted this business to Lyfania and Philotas, passed the mountains, and pursued the Triballi. By galling them with his bowmen and slingers, he gradually forced them from their fastnesses, and defeated a powerful body of their warriors encamped on the woody banks of the Lyginus, distant three days march from the Danube. The remainder of the nation, conducted by the valor of their chieftain Syrmus, and reinforced by a numerous band of Thracians, took refuge in Peucé, an island in the Danube, defended by abrupt and rugged banks, surrounded by deep and foaming streams. Alexander, though he had just received some ships of war from Byzantium, judged it too hazardous to assault the island; and the hostile appearance of the Getæ on the northern bank, furnished him with an honorable pretence for declining the siege of Peucé. On the margin of the Danube, that audacious people had drawn up four thousand horse, and above ten thousand foot, showing, by their countenance and demeanour, a determined resolution to oppose the landing of an enemy. Provoked by those signs of

The Triballi take refuge in Peucé.

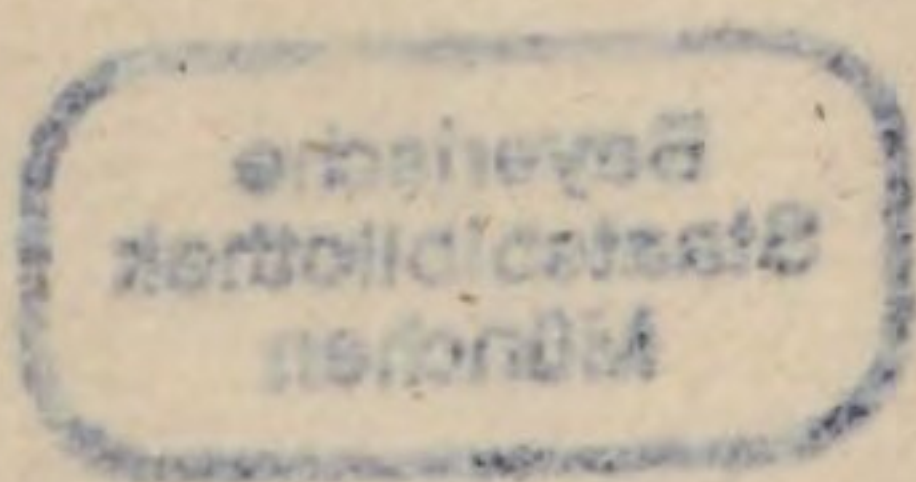
Alexander passes the Danube;

¹⁹ Arrian. Alexand. Expedit. l. i. p. 2, et seqq.

C H A P. defiance, and animated by the glory of passing the
XXXVII. greatest of all European rivers, and that which was surrounded with the greatest and most warlike nations, Alexander filled the hides used in encampment with straw and other buoyant materials, and collected all the boats employed by the natives of those parts in fishing, commerce, or piracy. Amidst the darkness of the ensuing night, he thus transported fifteen hundred cavalry, and four thousand infantry, to that part of the opposite bank, which was covered with high and thick corn. At the dawn of day, he commanded his foot to march through those rich fields ²⁰ with transversed spears; while they remained concealed in the corn, the cavalry followed them; but as soon as they emerged into the naked plain, the horse advanced to the front, and both suddenly presenting an irresistible object of terror, the Getæ abandoned their post, and fled to their city, which was four miles distant. There, they at first purposed to make a vigorous defence; but perceiving that Alexander cautiously skirted the river, to avoid the danger of an ambush, reflecting on his astonishing boldness in passing, without a bridge, the Danube in one night, and beholding the impenetrable firmness of his phalanx, and the irresistible impetuosity of his cavalry ²¹, they regarded farther opposition

²⁰ Πλαγίαις ταῖς σαρῖσσαις ἐπικλιναῖντες τὸν σίτον. The spears were transversed, not only for the purpose of concealment, "but to make a road through the corn."

²¹ Φοβερὰ δὲ τῆς φαλαγγὸς ἡ ζυγκλαῖσις, βία δὲ ἡ τῶν ἵππων ἐμβολή, Arrian, p. 4. Alexander knew the proper use of cavalry.



as vain, forlook their habitations, and retired precipitately, with their wives and children, into the northern desert ²². CHAP. XXXVII.

The Macedonians entered, and sacked the town. The spoil was intrusted to Philip and Meleager; Alexander, mindful of so many favors, returned sacrifices of thanks to Jupiter, Hercules, and the god of the Danube; and, encamping on the northern bank of the river, received very submissive embassies from the surrounding nations. Even Syrmus, the intrepid leader of the Triballi, sent propitiatory presents, and readily obtained pardon from a prince, who could admire virtue in a Barbarian, and an enemy ²³. receives the submission of the neighbouring nations.

Necessity alone compelled Alexander to carry his arms into those inhospitable regions. Animated by an ambition to subdue the Asiatic plains, he turned with contempt from bleak heaths and barren mountains, not deigning to chastise the boastful arrogance of the Celtæ. The Boii and Senones, Celtic or German tribes (for those nations were often confounded by the Greeks), sent ambassadors to Alexander, who, observing their lofty stature and haughty spirit, endeavoured to humble them by asking, "what, of all things, they most feared?" not doubting, they would Arrogance of the Celtæ.

which was so little understood in the last century, that the three ranks fired successively before the charge: each, after firing, passing, by a caracol, behind the rest. Gustavus Adolphus allowed only his first rank to fire; which was doubtless a great improvement, and paved the way for reducing the service of cavalry to its true principle, what Arrian calls "ἡ ἑσπέρια ἐμβολή."

²² Arrian, l. i. p. 3, et seqq.

²³ Idem, ibid.

C H A P. answer, "yourself;" but they replied, "the fall
XXXVII. of heaven." The king declared them his friends and allies, but whispered to those around him, "the Celtæ are an arrogant people²⁴." Could we admit the truth of this narrative, and believe that ambassadors were really sent to Alexander by the nations inhabiting the northern recesses of the Ionian gulph, it would be interesting to observe the early character and first proceedings of a people, who were destined to subdue the conquerors of the Macedonian empire.

Alexander
 reduces
 the Tau-
 lantii, and
 other Illy-
 rian tribes.

In his return towards Pella, Alexander marched through the friendly country of the Pæonians, where he received the unpleasant intelligence that the Illyrian tribes were in arms, headed by Clitus, son of Bardyllis, the hereditary foe of Macedon. Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, prepared to join the arms of Clitus; the Autariadæ, likewise an Illyrian nation, had determined to obstruct the march of Alexander. Amidst these difficulties, he was encouraged by Langarus, chief of the Agrians, a warlike tribe inhabiting the ridges of Mount Hæmus. Even in the life-time of Philip, Langarus²⁵ had discerned the superior merit of his son, with whom he had early entered into a confidential correspondence. Conducted by the activity of Langarus, the Agrian targeteers, who thenceforth had an important share in all the Macedonian victories, invaded the country of the Autariadæ. Their ravages were equally rapid and destructive;

²⁴ Arrian, l. i. p. 5. et Strabo, l. vii. p. 208 et 209.

²⁵ Λαγγαρος . . . και Φίλιππος ζώντος ασπάζομενος Αλεξάνδρον δηλος ην, και ιδία επρεσβευσε παρ' αυτον. Arrian, p. 5.

the Autariadæ, broken by domestic calamity, or C H A P.
alarmed by private danger, abandoned the design XXXVII.
of co-operating with the enemies of Alexander.
That prince thus advanced without opposition to
Pellion, the principal strong-hold of the Illyrians.
His army encamped on the banks of the Eordaicus.
The enemy were posted on the adjacent mountains,
and concealed among thick woods, purposing to
attack the Macedonians by a sudden and united
assault. But their courage failed them in the moment
of execution. Not daring to wait the approach of
the phalanx, they precipitately retreated to their
city, leaving behind them the horrid vestiges of
their bloody superstition, three boys, three maids,
and as many black rams, which, having just sacri-
ficed, they wanted time to remove²⁶.

Meanwhile Glaucias, king of the Taulantii, ap-
proached with a great force²⁷ to relieve Pellion,
and assist his ally. Alexander had dispatched Phi-
lotas to forage at the head of a strong body of
cavalry. Glaucias attempted to intercept and cut
off this detachment. Alexander, leaving part of
his army to awe Pellion, marched to the assistance
of Philotas; Clitus reinforced Glaucias; a deci-
sive action thus seemed inevitable, if the thickness
of lofty forests, and the intricacies of winding
mountains, had afforded a proper scene for a
general engagement. The Barbarians excelled in

²⁶ Arrian, p. 5.

²⁷ Μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. Idem, p. 6 Neither Thrace nor
Illyria were populous in those days; but as every man was a sol-
dier, the princes of those countries often brought numerous armies
into the field.

C H A P. knowledge of the country; the Macedonians in
XXXVII. skill and courage. The war was widely diffused, and ably supported. But the discipline of Alexander finally prevailed. By surprise, by stratagem, by the terror of his military engines, which destroyed at a distance, and by such prompt and skilful manœuvres²⁸ as had never been before seen, on the banks of the Apfus²⁹ and Erigonè, he totally dispersed this immense cloud of Barbarians. Many were slain, and many made captive; a remnant, having burnt their city, which they despaired being able to defend, sought refuge among the Taulantian mountains³⁰.

Rebellion
 in Greece.
 Olymp.
 cxi. 2.
 A. C. 335.

Meanwhile a report circulated in Greece, that Alexander had perished in Illyria; and as men readily *believe* that which their interests make them *wish*³¹, this vague rumor was greedily embraced by the partisans of Grecian independence. The Athenian demagogues resumed their usual boldness; the Lacedæmonians already fancied themselves heading the revolt³²; but the first acts of rebellion were committed by the Thebans, who, having secretly recalled their exiles, treacherously³³

²⁸ These are laboriously described by Arrian, p. 6. who, it must be acknowledged, appears sometimes too fond of displaying his skill in tactics.

²⁹ Otherwise called the Eordaicus.

³⁰ Arrian, p. 7.

³¹ Οὐ γινώσκοντες τὰ ὄντα, [τὰ μάλιστα καθ' ἡδονὴν σφισὶν εἰκαζόν.
 "Not knowing the truth, hope regulated their conjectures."
 Idem, p. 8.

³² The Lacedæmonians, says Arrian, were γυνώμῃσι ἀφρονηκότες,
 "revolted in their minds."

³³ They seized them without the garrison, εἶδεν ὑποτοπισσάντας πολεμίων, "suspecting no hostility."

murdered Amyntas and Timolaus, commanders of the Cadmæa, and prepared to expel the Macedonian garrison from that fortress.

Alexander, when apprized of these proceedings, relinquished the pursuit of the Barbarians, descended by rapid marches along the western frontier of Macedon, traversed Thessaly, entered Bœotia, and in the space of fourteen days after his receiving the first news of the rebellion, besieged and demolished Thebes. The decisive boldness of this measure has been highly extolled by historians, because nothing could have a more direct tendency to quash the seditious spirit of the Greeks, than the rapid punishment of Thebes, which at once filled the neighbouring cities with pity and terror. A spectacle of that dreadful kind was necessary, it has been said, to secure the future tranquillity of Greece and Macedon, and to enable Alexander to undertake his Persian expedition, without the danger of being interrupted by rebellions in Europe³⁴. But, notwithstanding this

CHAP.
XXXVII.
Destruction of
Thebes.
Olymp.
cxi. 2.
A. C. 335.

³⁴ Plut. Diodor. Justin. Among the moderns, Mably sur les Græcs, and the learned author of the Examen des Historiens d'Alexandre, who says, p. 46. "Alexandre devoit assurer sa domination dans la Grèce par quelque coup d'eclat, avant que de passer en Asie; la revolte de Thebes lui presenta une occasion favorable à ses vues." Yet Arrian, whose narrative was copied from the relation of eye-witnesses, expresses, thrice in the same page, the reluctance of Alexander to attack the Thebans. Εκδίδας ἐτι τοῖς Θηβαίοις τριβὴν, εἰ μεταγνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς κακῶς ἐγνωσμένοις, πρεσβεύσαιντο παρ' αὐτόν. And again, Ἐτι γὰρ τοῖς Θηβαίοις διὰ Φιλίας εἰλεῖν μάλλον τι ἢ διὰ κινδύνου ἠθέλει. And still to the same purpose, Ἀλεξάνδρος δὲ εἶδε ὡς τῇ πόλει προσέβηκεν. Arrian, p. 8.

C H A P. sagacious reflection, it appears that the destruction
 XXXVII. of Thebes was the effect, not of policy, but of
 obstinacy and accident. In approaching that un-
 fortunate city, Alexander repeatedly halted, to
 allow the insurgents time to repent of their rash-
 ness. The wiser part of the Thebans proposed to
 embrace the opportunity of sending ambassadors to
 crave his pardon. But the exiles and authors of
 the sedition encouraged the multitude to persevere;
 and instead of showing remorse for their past crimes,
 sent forth their cavalry and light infantry, who
 assaulted and slew several of the Macedonian out-
 guards ³⁵.

The occa-
 sion and
 circum-
 stances of
 that event.

Exasperated by these insults, Perdiccas, com-
 mander of an advanced party, attacked the Theban
 wall, without waiting the orders of Alexander.
 A breach was speedily effected; the brigade of
 Perdiccas was followed by that of Amyntas, son of
 Andromenes; but both were so warmly received
 by the enemy, that Alexander saw the necessity of
 reinforcing them, lest they should be surrounded
 and cut off. The Thebans were then repelled in
 their turn; but soon rallying, beat back the assail-
 ants, and pursued them with disordered ranks.
 Alexander then seized the decisive moment of
 advancing with a close phalanx. His assault was
 irresistible. The Thebans fled amain; and such
 was their trepidation, that having entered their
 gates, they neglected to shut them against the
 pursuers. The Macedonians, and their Greek
 auxiliaries, thus rushed tumultuously into the place.

³⁵ Arrian, p. 8, et seqq.

A dreadful slaughter ensued. The Phocians, Orchomenians, and Plataeans, rejoiced at gaining an opportunity to gratify their implacable resentment against Thebes. The greater part of the citizens, exceeding thirty thousand in number³⁶, were either put to the sword or dragged into captivity. A feeble remnant escaped to Athens. The ancient city of Cadmus was rased to the ground; but the citadel was still garrisoned by Macedonian troops, and long maintained as a convenient post for over-awing the adjacent territory.

C H A P.
XXXVII.
Cruelty of
the Greek
auxilia-
ries.

The severities exercised against Thebes were reluctantly permitted by Alexander, at the instigation of his Grecian auxiliaries³⁷. The few acts of forbearance or mercy, which appeared in this lamentable transaction, flowed from the humanity of his own nature. By his particular orders, the house and family of Pindar were saved from the general desolation. He commanded likewise, that the sacred families should be spared, as well as those connected with Macedon by the ties of hospitality; and as he is the only great conqueror who built many more towns than he destroyed, he took care that the demolition of Thebes should be immediately followed by the restoration of Orchomenus and Plataea. Even the gloomiest events of his reign were distinguished by some flashes of light,

A few acts
of mercy,
owing to
Alexan-
der.

³⁶ According to the lowest computation, Thebes at that time contained above thirty thousand citizens. Comp. Diodor. Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. l. xiii. c. vii. Agatharchid. apud Phot. Bibl. 1337.

³⁷ Diodor. l. xvii. p. 562.

C H A P. that displayed his magnanimity. It happened in
XXXVII. the sack of Thebes, that a band of fierce Thracians
 Heroism broke into the house of Timoclea, an illustrious
 of Timo- Theban matron, the ornament of her sex. The
 clea. soldiers plundered her house; their brutal com-
 mander violated her person. Having gratified his
 lust, he was next stimulated by avarice, and de-
 manded her gold and silver. She conducted him
 to a garden, and showed him a well, into which
 she pretended to have thrown her most valuable
 treasure. With blind avidity, he stooped to grasp
 it, while the woman, being behind, pushed him head-
 long into the cistern, and covered him with stones.
 Timoclea was seized by the soldiers, and carried
 in chains to Alexander. Her firm gait, and in-
 trepid aspect, commanded the attention of the
 conqueror. Having learned her crime, Alexander
 asked her, "Who she was, that could venture to
 commit so bold a deed?" "I am," replied she,
 "the sister of Theagenes, who fell at Chæroneæ,
 fighting against Philip in defence of Grecian free-
 dom." Alexander admired both her action and
 her answer, and desired her to depart free with her
 children³⁸. While Alexander returned towards
 Macedon, he received many congratulatory em-
 bassies from the Greeks. Those affected most
 friendship in their speeches, who had most enmity
 in their hearts. The Athenians sent to deprecate
 his wrath against themselves, and to excuse their
 compassionate treatment of the Theban fugitives.
 Alexander demanded the persons of Demosthenes,

Alexander
 receives
 the con-
 gratula-
 tory em-
 bassies of
 the
 Greeks.

³⁸ Plut. de Vit. Alexand. p. 7.

Lycurgus, Hyperides, and five other orators, to C H A P. XXXVII.
 whose inflammatory speeches he ascribed the seditious spirit that had recently prevailed in Athens. An assembly was immediately summoned to deliberate on this demand; and a decree unanimously passed for trying the orators accused by Alexander, and for inflicting on them such punishment as their offences should appear to merit. This pretended forwardness in the Athenians to avenge his quarrel, was highly agreeable to Alexander. The artful decree, which was immediately transmitted to him, was rendered still more acceptable, by being delivered by Demades, an avowed friend to Macedon, whom the party of Demosthenes bribed with five talents to undertake this useful service³⁹. Amidst the various embassies to the king, the Spartans alone preserved a sullen, or magnanimous silence. Alexander treated them with real, or well-affected contempt; and, without deigning to require their assistance, prepared for the greatest enterprize that ever was undertaken by the Grecian confederacy.

The arrival of the army in Macedon was celebrated with all the pomp of an elegant superstition. A faithful image of the Olympic solemnity was exhibited in the ancient city of Ægæ. Continual games and sacrifices were performed in Dium, during the space of nine days, in honor of the

Transactions in Macedon, previous to Alexander's expedition to the East. Olymp. cxi. 1. A. C. 334.

³⁹ The circumstances of this transaction are differently related by all the authors who mention it. Compare Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 498. Æschin. in Ctesiphont. Plut. in Vit. Alexand. et Arrian, l. i. p. 11. In military affairs Arrian's authority stands unrivalled; but Æschines, a contemporary orator, must have been better informed concerning the civil transactions of the Athenians.

C H A P. XXXVII. Muses. Alexander entertained at his table the ambassadors of the Grecian states, together with the principal officers of his army, whether Greeks or Macedonians. In the interval of public representations, he discoursed with his confidential friends concerning the important expedition which chiefly occupied his thoughts. Parmenio and Antipater, the most respected of his father's counsellors, exhorted him not to march into the East, until by marriage, and the birth of a son, he had provided a successor to the monarchy. But the ardent patriotism of Alexander disdained every personal consideration. He remembered that he was elected general of the Greeks, and that he commanded the invincible troops of his father ⁴⁰.

Alexander crosses the Hellespont with his army.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

Having intrusted to Antipater the affairs of Greece and Macedon, and committed to that general an army of above twenty thousand men ⁴¹, to maintain domestic tranquillity in those countries, he departed early in the spring, at the head of above five thousand horse, and somewhat more than thirty thousand infantry ⁴². In twenty days march, he arrived at Sestos, on the Hellespont. From thence the army was conveyed to Asia, in a hundred and sixty galleys, and probably a still greater number of transports. The armament landed without opposition on the Asiatic coast; the

⁴⁰ Diodor. l. xvii. p. 499.

⁴¹ Diodorus, who enters into some detail on this subject, says, twelve thousand infantry, and eleven thousand five hundred cavalry.

⁴² Arrian, p. 12.

Persians, though long ago apprized of the intended C H A P.
 invasion, having totally neglected the defence of XXXVII.
 their western frontier.

The causes of this negligence resulted, in some degree perhaps, from the character of the prince, but still more from that of the nation. Codomannus had been raised by assassinations, and intrigues to the throne of Persia, about the same time that Alexander succeeded his father Philip. The first year of his reign had been employed in stifling domestic rebellion, in securing, and afterwards in displaying, the fruits of victory. This prince assumed the appellation of Darius, but could not recal the principles or manners which distinguished his countrymen, during the reign of the first monarch of that name. In the space of about two hundred and thirty years, the Persians had been continually degenerating from the virtues which characterize a poor and warlike nation, without acquiring any of those arts and improvements which usually attend peace and opulence. Their empire, as extended by Darius Hystaspes, still embraced the most valuable portion of Asia and Africa. The revenue paid in money was still estimated, as during the reign of that monarch, at fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Eubœic talents. Immense treasures had been accumulated in Damascus, Arbela, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatan, and other great cities of the empire. The revenue paid in kind cannot be appreciated; but such was the extraordinary opulence of this great monarchy, that the conquests of Alexander are supposed to

State of
 the Per-
 sian em-
 pire.

G H A P. have given him an income of sixty millions sterling⁴³; a sum which will admit allowance for exaggeration, and still appear sufficiently great.

Circumstances which prepared it for destruction.

Although the extravagance and vices of Susa, Babylon, and other imperial cities, corresponded to the extent and wealth of the monarchy, yet the Persians were prepared for destruction rather by their ignorance of the arts of peace and war, than by their effeminacy and luxury. The provinces, moreover, had ceased to maintain any regular communication with the capital, or with each other. The standing military force proved insufficient to keep in awe the distant satraps, or viceroys. The ties of a common religion and language, or the sense of a public interest, had never united into one system this discordant mass of nations, which was ready to crumble into pieces at the touch of an invader. When to these unfavorable circumstances we join the reflection, that under the younger Cyrus, twelve thousand Greeks baffled the arms, and almost divided the empire of Persia, we shall not find much reason to admire the magnanimity of Alexander in undertaking his eastern expedition; unless we are at the same time apprized, that Darius was deemed a brave and generous prince, beloved by his Persian subjects, and assisted by the valor of fifty thousand Greek mercenaries⁴⁴.

Deliberation of the Persian satraps.

Having arrived in Asia, Alexander, than whom none ever employed more successfully the power of superstition⁴⁵, confirmed the confidence of his

⁴³ Justin. xiii. i.

⁴⁴ Arrian, Diodorus and Curtius.

⁴⁵ Plut. Curtius, and Arrian, passim.

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followers by many auspicious predictions and prodigies. While, with every military precaution, he pursued his march along the coast, Arsites, Spithridates, Memnon, and other governors of the maritime provinces, assembled in the town of Zeleia, distant sixty miles from the Hellespont. They had neglected to oppose the invasion by their superior fleet; they had allowed the enemy to encamp, unmolested, on their coasts; fear now compelled them to reluctant union; but jealousy made them reject the most reasonable plan of defence.

This was proposed by Memnon the Rhodian, the ablest general in the service of Darius. He observed the danger of resisting the Macedonian infantry, who were superior in number, and encouraged by the presence of their king. That the invaders, fiery and impetuous, were now animated by hope, but would lose courage on the first disappointment. Destitute of magazines and resources, their safety depended on sudden victory. It was the interest of the Persians, on the other hand, to protract the war, above all to avoid a general engagement. Without risking the event of a battle, they had other means to check the progress of the invaders. For this purpose, they ought to trample down the corn with their numerous cavalry, destroy all other fruits of the ground, and desolate the whole country, without sparing the towns and villages. Some rejected this advice, as unbecoming the dignity of Persia⁴⁶; Arsites, governor of Lesser

C H A P.

XXXVII.

Judicious
advice of
Memnon,

rejected.

⁴⁶ Ἀνάξιον τῆς Περσῶν μεγαλοψυχίας, "Unworthy the magnanimity of Persia." Diodor. p. 501.

C H A P. Phrygia, declared with indignation, that he would
 XXXVII. never permit the property of *his* subjects to be ravaged with impunity. These sentiments the more easily prevailed, because many suspected the motives of Memnon. It was determined, therefore, by this council of princes, to assemble their respective forces with all possible expedition, and to encamp on the eastern bank of the Granicus, a river (midway between Zeleia and the Hellespont) which, issuing from Mount Ida, falls into the Propontis.

Alexander
 prepares
 to pass the
 Granicus.
 Olymp.
 cxi. 3.
 A. C. 334.

The scouts of Alexander having brought him intelligence of the enemy's design, he immediately advanced to give them battle. The phalanx marched by its flank in a double line⁴⁷, the cavalry on the wings, the waggons and baggage in the rear. The advanced guard, consisting of horsemen armed with pikes, and five hundred light infantry, the whole commanded by Hegelochus, were detached to examine the fords of the Granicus, and to observe the disposition of the enemy. They returned with great celerity, to acquaint Alexander, that the Persians were advantageously posted on the opposite bank, their horse amounting to twenty thousand, and their foreign mercenaries, drawn up on the slope of a rising ground, behind the cavalry, scarcely less numerous. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, the young

⁴⁷ The διπλη Φαλαγγίς is explained in this sense by Ælian and Arrian. In ordinary cases the phalanx marched by its flank, that is, with a front of sixteen men. The διπλη Φαλαγγίς, therefore, contained a front of thirty-two men.

prince determined to pass the river. Having ad-
vanced within sight of the hostile ranks, his horse
spread to the right and left, the massy column of
infantry opened, and the whole formed along the
bank in order of battle. The phalanx, divided
into eight sections, composed the main body, which
occupied the centre; the Macedonian cavalry
formed the right wing; the Grecian, the left.

While Alexander made these dispositions, the
cautious Parmenio approached, and remonstrated
against passing the Granicus in the face of an
enemy. The river, he observed, was deep and
full of eddies; its banks abrupt and craggy; "it
would be impossible, therefore, to march the Ma-
cedonians in front, and if they advanced in columns,
their flanks must be exposed naked and defenceless.
To try such dangerous manœuvres seemed unne-
cessary in the present juncture, because the barba-
rians would certainly quit their station in the night,
rather than remain encamped in the neighbour-
hood of so formidable an army." These pruden-
tial considerations prevailed not with Alexander,
who declared that, in the first conflict, the Mace-
donians must act with equal promptitude and vi-
gor, and perform something worthy of the terror
which they bore. Saying this, he sprung on his
horse, assumed the command of the right wing,
and committed the left to Parmenio.

Animated by the hope of soon closing with the
enemy, he disdained to employ his military en-
gines. The balistas and catapults, by which, in a
similar situation, he had repelled the Taulantii,

C. H. A. P.
XXXVII.

Rejects the
cautious
counsels
of Par-
menio.

Battle of
the Gra-
nicus.
Olymp.
cxi. 3.
A. C. 334.

C H A P. were rejected as tedious or ineffectual. Alexander
 XXXVII. distributed his orders; a dreadful silence ensued; the hostile armies beheld each other with resentment or terror. This solemn pause was interrupted by the Macedonian trumpet, which, on a signal given by Alexander, resounded from every part of the line. His brother Ptolemy, as had been previously regulated, then rode forth at the head of a squadron of cuirassiers⁴⁸, followed by two bodies of light dragoons, and a battalion of infantry commanded by Amyntas. While these troops boldly entered the Granicus, Alexander likewise advanced with the chosen cavalry on the right wing, followed by the archers and Agrians. In passing the river, both Alexander and Ptolemy led their troops obliquely down the current, to prevent, as much as possible, the Persians from attacking them in flank, as they successively reached the shore. The Persian cavalry behaved with courage; the first squadrons of the Macedonians were driven back into the stream. But Alexander, who animated the *companions*⁴⁹ with his voice and arm, maintained his ground on the bank, and thought he had gained the battle, when he obtained an opportunity of fighting. In the equestrian engagement which followed, the Macedonians owed much to their skilful

⁴⁸ I have used this word to express those troops which the Greeks called *Cataphracts*, from the completeness of their defensive armor. Milton mentions them in *Samson Agonistes*,

"Archers and slingers, Cataphracts and spears."

⁴⁹ The eight squadrons of chosen cavalry, which were of that kind called *Cataphracts*, were honored with the name of *Companions* and friends of the king. Arrian et Diodor. *passim*.

evolutions and discipline⁵⁰; still more to their strength and courage; and not a little to the excellence of their weapons, which being made of the cornel-tree⁵¹, far surpassed the brittle javelins of the enemy.

Meanwhile Parmenio crossed the Granicus, at the head of the left wing, with equal success, but unequal glory, because Alexander had already proved, by his example, that the difficulty might be overcome, which would have otherwise appeared unsurmountable. The attention of the enemy was so deeply engaged by the successive attacks of the cavalry, that they seem not to have made much opposition to the passage of the phalanx. But before this powerful body of infantry had crossed the river, the Macedonian horse had already reaped the fairest honors of the field. Alexander animated them by his presence, and, after performing all the duties of a great general, displayed such personal acts of prowess as will be more readily admired than believed by the modern reader. But in the close combats of antiquity, the forces, when once thoroughly engaged, might be safely abandoned to the direction of their own resentment and courage, while the commanders displayed the peculiar accomplishments to which they had been

Personal
prowess of
Alexander
and the
Macedo-
nian cap-
tains.

⁵⁰ They derived great advantages, particularly, from the light infantry intermixed with their squadrons. The targeteers and Agrians proved extremely useful in helping the Macedonians to keep off the Persian cavalry, which, when too near, hindered them from the proper use of their lances.

⁵¹ At myrtus validis hastilibus et bona bello
Cornus.

VIRG. GEORG. ii. v. 447.

C H A' P. trained from their youth, in the more conspicuous
 XXXVII. parts of the field. Alexander was easily distinguished by the brightness of his armor, and the admirable alacrity of his attendants. The bravest of the Persian nobles impatiently waited his approach. He darted into the midst of them, and fought till he broke his spear. Having demanded a new weapon from Aretes, his master of the horse, Aretes showed him his own spear, which likewise was broken. Demaratus the Corinthian supplied the king with a weapon. Thus armed, he rode up, and assaulted Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius, who exulted before the hostile ranks. While Alexander beat him to the ground, he was himself struck by Ræfages with a hatchet. His helmet saved his life. He pierced the breast of Ræfages; but a new danger threatened him from the scimitar of Spithridates. The instrument of death already descended on his head, when Clitus cut off the arm of Spithridates, which fell with the grasped weapon.

The Persians defeated.

The heroism of Alexander animated the valor of the *companions*, and the enemy first fled where the king commanded in person. In the left wing, the Grecian cavalry must have behaved with distinguished merit, since the Persians had begun on every side to give way before the Macedonian infantry had completely passed the river⁵². The

⁵² Guischart, p. 208. says, "Aussitôt que la phalange fut en état d'agir contre l'ennemi, avec tout son front hérissé de piques, la victoire cessa d'être douteuse." It appears not, however, that

stern aspect of the phalanx, shining in steel and
bristling with spears, confirmed the victory. Above
a thousand Persian horse were slain in the pursuit.
The foot, consisting chiefly in Greek mercenaries,
still continued in their first position, not firm, but
inactive, petrified by astonishment, not steady
through resolution".- While the phalanx attacked
them in front, the victorious cavalry assailed their
flanks. Surrounded on all sides, they fell an easy
prey; two thousand surrendered prisoners; the rest
all perished, unless a few stragglers perchance
lurked among the slain.

The battle of the Granicus proved fatal to most
of the Persian commanders. Arsites, the chief
adviser of the engagement, died in despair by his
own hand. The generals Niphates and Petenes,
Omares leader of the mercenaries, Spithridates
satrap of Lydia, Mithrobuzanes governor of

Loss on
both sides.

the phalanx at all acted against the Persian cavalry. The battle
of the Granicus was entirely an equestrian engagement, as had been
prophefied to Alexander by his namesake, a priest of Minerva in
the Troade. See Diodor. l. xvii. p. 571.

⁵³ *Εκπληξείμαλλον τι τὴ παραλογῶν, ἢ λογισμῶν βεβαιῶν.* Arrian.
It might be suspected that the Greek mercenaries were not very
hearty in the Persian cause, and had delayed declaring themselves
till they beheld the issue of the equestrian engagement. This is
conjectured by Guischart in his admirable *Mémoires Militaires*,
p. 208. But the fidelity of their countrymen to Darius on all
subsequent occasions, as well as the severe treatment they met
with in the present battle, seem sufficient to remove that disho-
norable suspicion. Their conduct, seemingly unaccountable, is
ascribed, by Arrian, to their astonishment, that Alexander's ca-
valry should have passed the Granicus, and repelled the Persian
horse, which were four times more numerous.

C H A P. Cappadocia, Mithridates, son-in-law of Darius, and
XXXVII. Arbupales, son of Artaxerxes, were numbered among the slain. Such illustrious names might lead us to suspect, that the Persians were still more numerous than Arrian⁵⁴ represents them; and, notwithstanding the nature of ancient weapons and tactics, which rendered every battle a rout, and commonly prevented the retreat of the vanquished, it is scarcely to be believed, that in such an important engagement, Alexander should have lost only eighty-five horsemen, and thirty light infantry⁵⁵. Of the former, twenty-five belonged to the royal band of Companions. By command of Alexander, their statues were formed by the art of his admired Lysippus⁵⁶, and erected in the Macedonian city of Dium.

Humanity
and pru-
dence of
Alexan-
der.

This important victory enabled Alexander to display both his humanity and his prudence. He declared the parents and children of the deceased thenceforth exempted from every species of tribute⁵⁷. He carefully visited the wounded,

⁵⁴ Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 572. makes them amount to one hundred and ten thousand. Justin is quite extravagant. The Persians, he says, were six hundred thousand.

⁵⁵ Others diminished the loss to thirty five horsemen and nine foot soldiers. Aristobul. apud Plut. in Vit. Alexand.

⁵⁶ Arrian says, ὅσπερ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον μόνος προκρίθεις ἐποίησε. "Who was alone preferred to make the image of Alexander." This, doubtless, increased the honor conferred on the Companions. Arrian would have spoke more accurately, had he said, "to cast the figure of Alexander in bronze." Other artists represented him in marble, in gems, medals, etc. of which hereafter.

⁵⁷ Arrian distinguishes τῷ σώματι λειτουργίας; καὶ κατὰ τὰς κτήσεις εἰσφορίας, personal services, and contributions, in proportion to their property.

attentively asked how each of them had received harm, and heard with patience and commendation their much-boasted exploits. The Persian commanders were interred; and the Greeks, both officers and soldiers. The Grecian captives were condemned to work in the Thracian mines, as a punishment for bearing arms against the cause of their country. But even this severity Alexander softened by a very seasonable compliment to the Athenians, whose city he preferred to be the repository of his trophies and renown. Immediately after the battle, he sent three hundred suits of Persian armor, as dedications to Minerva in the citadel. This magnificent present was inscribed with the following words: "Gained by Alexander, son of Philip, and the Greeks (except the Lacedæmonians), from the Barbarians of Asia." It is remarkable, that on this occasion he omits mention of the Macedonians, whether because he wished them to be comprehended under the name of Greeks; or because, in the Persian war, he always affected rather to avenge the cause of Greece, than to gratify his own ambition; or, finally, that the Greeks being thus exclusively associated to his honors, might thenceforth continue zealous in making new levies for his service.

The battle of the Granicus opened to Alexander the conquest of Ionia, Caria, Phrygia; in a word, all the Asiatic provinces west of the river Halys, which had anciently formed the powerful monarchy of the Lydians. Many of the walled towns surrendered at his approach. Sardis, the splendid

Immediate
consequence of
the victory.

C H A P. capital of Cræsus, opened its gates to a deliverer,
XXXVII. and once more obtained the privilege of being governed by its ancient laws, after reluctantly enduring, above two centuries, the cruel yoke of Persia. The Grecian cities on the coast were delivered from the burden of tribute and the oppression of garrisons; and, under the auspices of a prince, who admired their ancient glory in arts and arms, resumed the enjoyment of their hereditary freedom. During the Persian expedition of Alexander, the Ephesians were still employed in rebuilding their temple, which had been set on fire by Herostratus, twenty years before that period, and on the same night, it is said, which gave birth to the destined conqueror of the East. Alexander encouraged their pious and honorable undertaking; and, in order to accelerate its progress, commanded the tribute which had been paid to the Persians, to be appropriated to the temple of Diana⁵⁸.

Siege of
Miletus
and Halicarnassus.

Miletus and Halicarnassus alone retarded the progress of the conqueror. The latter place, commanded by Memnon the Rhodian, made a memorable defence. Alexander had scarcely sat down before it, when the garrison, consisting of Greeks and Persians, sallied forth, and maintained a desperate conflict. Having repelled them with much difficulty, he undertook the laborious work of filling up a ditch thirty cubits broad, and fifteen deep which the besieged, with incredible diligence, had drawn round their wall. This being effected,

⁵⁸ Comp. Arrian. p. 18. et Strab. p. 949.

he advanced wooden towers, on which the Macedonians erected their battering engines, and prepared to assault the enemy on equal ground. But a nocturnal sally attacked these preparations; a second engagement was fought with still greater fury than the first; three hundred Macedonians were wounded, darkness preventing their usual precaution in guarding their bodies⁵⁹.

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XXXVII.

A few days afterwards, Halicarnassus, which had so obstinately resisted skill and courage, was on the point of yielding to rashness and accident. The battalion of Perdiccas happened to be posted on that side of the wall, which looked towards Miletus. Two soldiers, belonging to this corps, while they supped together in their tent, boasted their military exploits; each, as usual, preferring his own. Wine heated their emulation. They rushed forth to assault the wall of Halicarnassus, animated less with the mad hope of victory, than with an ambition to display their respective prowess. The sentinels perceived their audacity, and prepared to repel them; but they killed the first men who approached, and threw javelins at others who followed them. Before their boldness was overwhelmed by numbers, many soldiers belonging to the same battalion advanced to their relief. The Halicarnassians, also, hastened to the defence of their friends; a sharp conflict ensued; the garrison was repelled; the wall attacked; two towers and the intervening curtain thrown down; and had

Bold adventure of two Macedonian soldiers.

⁵⁹ Arrian, p. 20.

C H A P. greater numbers joined in the assault, the town
XXXVII. must have been taken by storm⁶⁰.

Halicar-
 nassus
 taken and
 reluctantly
 demolish-
 ed.

Olymp.

xi. 3.

A. C. 334.

The humanity of Alexander rendered him unwilling to come to that extremity. But the extraordinary success of such an unpremeditated enterprise, engaged him to ply the walls with new vigor. The defence was as obstinate as before; two desperate sallies were made, and repelled with consummate bravery. Alexander's tenderness for the Halicarnassians prevented him from entering the place with an enraged and licentious soldiery. He therefore recalled his troops in the moment of victory, hoping that the besieged would finally surrender, and thus save their lives and properties. From the various breaches in the walls, and the numbers who had perished, or been wounded, in repeated conflicts, Memnon and his colleagues perceived, that much longer resistance was impossible. In this emergency they displayed the same decisive boldness which had appeared in every part of their defence. Having summoned the bravest of their adherents, they, in the night-time, set fire to a wooden tower, which they had erected for defence against the shocks of the enemy's engines, and for protection to their arsenal and magazines, and escaped to two neighbouring castles of great strength. About midnight, Alexander perceived the raging flames, and immediately sent a detachment to punish those who had excited, or who fomented, the conflagration; but with strict

⁶⁰ Arrian, p. 22.

orders to spare such of the townsmen as were found C H A^TP. XXXVII.
 in their houses. Next day, he examined the
 castles, and perceived that they could not be taken
 without much loss of time; but that independent of
 the town, they were of themselves of little value;
 a circumstance which obliged him, reluctantly, to
 demolish Halicarnassus, that it might never thence-
 forth serve as a retreat to his enemies⁶¹.

The inactive season of the year was employed
 by Alexander in securing and improving his ad-
 vantages. The inferior cities were committed to
 the discretion of his lieutenants; the king in per-
 son visited his more important conquests; and few
 places were honored with his presence without ex-
 perienicing his bounty. Before leaving Caria,
 where the siege of Halicarnassus long detained his
 impatient activity, he committed the administra-
 tion to Ada, the hereditary governess of that pro-
 vince. Ada was the sister, and the wife of Hi-
 drieus, on whose decease she was entitled to reign,
 both by the Carian laws and those of Upper Asia,
 where female succession had been established ever
 since the age of Semiramis. But the great king,
 with the usual caprice of a despot, had rejected the
 just claim of Ada, and seated a pretender on her
 tributary throne. The injured princess, however,
 still maintained possession of the strongly fortified
 city Alinda. When Alexander appeared in Caria,
 Ada hastened to meet him, addressed him by
 the name of son, and voluntarily surrendered to

Alexander
 commits
 the go-
 vernment
 of Caria
 to Ada.

⁶¹ Arrian, p. 23.

e H A P. him Alinda. The king neither rejected her present, nor declined her friendship; and, as he always repaid favors with interest, he committed to her, at his departure, the government of the whole province, and left a body of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, to support her authority.

His judicious plan of war.

The measures of Alexander were equally decisive and prudent. The Persian fleet, supplied by Egypt, Phœnicia, and the maritime provinces of Lower Asia, four times out-numbered his own, which, small as it was, still appeared too expensive for his treasury. Alexander determined to discharge it, declaring to his lieutenants, that, by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea, since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy⁶². Agreeable to this judicious plan of conquest, he pursued his journey through the southern provinces of the Asiatic peninsula, while Parmenio traversed the central countries of Lydia and Phrygia. At the same time Cleander was dispatched into Greece to raise new levies; and such soldiers as had married shortly before the expedition, were sent home to winter with their wives; a measure which extremely endeared Alexander to the army, and ensured the utmost alacrity of his European subjects, in furnishing supplies towards the ensuing campaign.

⁶² It will appear in the sequel how faithfully Alexander adhered to this plan of war, which kept open his communication with Greece and Macedon, and enabled him to pursue, with security, his conquests in the East.

Accompanied by such winning arts, the valor and prudence of Alexander seemed worthy to govern the world. His conduct, perhaps, often proceeded from the immediate impulse of sentiment; but it could not have been more subservient to his ambition, had it been invariably directed by the deepest policy. After the decisive battle of the Granicus, he experienced little obstinacy of resistance from the numerous forts and garrisons in Lower Asia. The tributary princes and satraps readily submitted to a milder and more magnanimous master; and the Grecian colonies on the coast eagerly espoused the interest of a prince who, on all occasions, avowed his partiality for their favorite institutions. In every province or city which he conquered, he restored to the Asiatics their hereditary laws; to the Greeks, their beloved democracy. While he allowed them to assume the forms of independent government, he was careful to bridle the animosity of domestic faction. Into whatever country he marched, he encouraged useful industry; and alleviated public burdens. His taste and his piety alike prompted him to repair the sacred and venerable remains of antiquity. He considered the Barbarians, not as slaves, but as subjects; the Greeks, not as subjects, but allies; and both perceived in his government such moderation and equity as they had never experienced either from the despotism of Persia, or from the domineering ambition of Athens and Sparta⁶³.

C H A P.

XXXVII.

The arts
by which
he secured
his con-
quests.

⁶³ Compare Plut. in Alexand. Curtius et Arrian, passim; et Thucyd. Xenoph. Isocrat. et Diodor.

C H A P.

XXXVII.

Singular
felicity of
Alexan-
der's
march
from Pha-
selis to
Perga.

Having received the submission of Xanthus, Patara, Phaselis, and above thirty other towns or sea-ports in Lycia, Alexander, probably for the sake of greater expedition, divided the corps under his immediate command. A considerable detachment traversed the Lycian and Pamphylian mountains, while the king in person pursued the still more dangerous track, leading along the sea-coast from Phaselis to Perga. On this foaming shore, the sea commonly beats against the rocks, and renders the passage impracticable, unless when the waves are repelled by a strong north wind. When Alexander began his march, the wind blew from the south. Yet he advanced without fear, confiding in his fortune. His troops cheerfully followed him, encouraged by many artful prodigies⁶⁴ which announced success to his undertaking. The event which next happened, was well fitted to strengthen their credulity, and confirm their implicit obedience. Before they had reached the

⁶⁴ While Alexander deliberated whether he should march forwards to attack Darius, a measure which promised glory and plunder to his troops, or proceed along the sea-coast and reduce the maritime cities, which would prevent the enemy from profiting of his absence in Upper Asia, to conquer Greece or Macedonia with their fleet, a fountain near the city Xanthus in Lycia boiled up, and threw out a copper-plate, engraved with ancient characters, signifying that the time was come when the Persian empire should be overthrown by the Greeks. Plutarch adds, *τῇτοις ἐπαρθεῖς, ἠπείγετο τὴν παραλίαν ἀνακαθίνασθαι*. "Encouraged by this prodigy, he hastened to subdue the coast." It would perhaps have been more worthy of a historian to say, "Encouraged by this prodigy, the Greeks and Macedonians readily obeyed the commands of their prudent, not less than valiant general."

main difficulties of the pass, the south wind gradually ceased; a brisk gale sprang up from the north; the sea retired; and their march thus became alike easy and expeditious. The authentic evidence of Arrian explains the marvellous in this occurrence, which Josephus, with no less indecency than folly, compares with the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea. Yet even the philosophical Arrian acknowledges, that the many concurring instances of good fortune in the life of Alexander, seemed to be produced by the immediate interposition of divine power, which, in effecting an important revolution in the Eastern world, rendered the operations of nature, and the volitions of men, subservient to the secret purposes of its providence.

In proceeding eastward from Perga, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Aspendus, the principal city and sea-port of Pamphylia. The Aspendians offered to surrender their city, but entreated, that they might not be burdened with a garrison. Alexander granted their request, on condition of their raising fifty talents to pay his soldiers, and delivering to him the horses which they reared as a tribute for Darius. The ambassadors accepted these terms; but their countrymen, who were distinguished by their ambition and rapacity, still more than by their commerce and their wealth, discovered no inclination to fulfil them. Alexander was informed of their treachery while he examined the walls of Syllius, another strong-hold of Pamphylia. He immediately marched towards Aspendus,

C H A P. the greater part of which was situate on a
XXXVII. high and steep rock, washed by the river Eury-
 medon. Several streets, however, were likewise
 built on the plain, surrounded only by a slight
 wall. At the approach of Alexander, the inha-
 bitants of the lower part of the town ascended the
 mountain. Alexander entered the place, and en-
 camped within the walls. The Aspendians,
 alarmed by the apprehension of a siege, entreated
 him to accept the former conditions. He com-
 manded them to deliver the horses, as agreed on;
 to pay, instead of fifty, a hundred talents; and
 to surrender their principal citizens as securities,
 that they would thenceforth obey the governor set
 over them; pay an annual tribute to Macedon;
 and submit to arbitration a dispute concerning some
 lands, which they were accused of having unjustly
 wrested from their neighbours⁶⁵.

He pun-
 nishes the
 treachery
 of Aspen-
 dus.

Alexan-
 der enters
 Phrygia.
 Olymp.
 cxi. 4.
 A.C. 333.

Having chastised the insolence and treachery of
 Aspendus, Alexander determined to march into
 Phrygia, that he might join forces with Parmenio,
 whom he had commanded to meet him in that coun-
 try. The new levies from Greece and Macedon were
 likewise ordered to assemble in the same province;
 from which it was intended, early in the spring, to
 proceed eastward, and achieve still more important
 conquests. To reach the southern frontier of Phry-
 gia, Alexander was under a necessity of traversing
 the inhospitable mountains of the warlike Pisidians.
 Amidst those rocks and fastnesses, the Macedonians

⁶⁵ Arrian, p. 26.

lost several brave men; but the undisciplined fury, and unarmed courage, of the Pisidians was unable to check the progress of Alexander. The city of Gordium in Phrygia was appointed for the general rendezvous. This place is distant about seventy-five miles from the Euxine, and two hundred and forty from the Cilician sea; and was famous, in remote antiquity, as the principal residence of the Phrygian kings, and the chief seat of their opulence and grandeur⁶⁶. Alexander had not long arrived in that place, when a desire seized him of ascending to the ancient castle or palace of Gordius, and of beholding the famous knot on his chariot, which was believed to involve the fate of Asia. Gordius, as the story went, was a man of slender fortune among the ancient Phrygians, who had but a small piece of land, and two yokes of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon. It happened to Gordius, while he was one day ploughing, that an eagle alighted on his yoke, and sat on it till evening. Alarmed by the prodigy, Gordius had recourse to the Telmessians, a people inhabiting the loftiest mountains⁶⁷ in Pisidia, and celebrated over all the neighbouring countries for their skill in augury. At the first village of the Telmessians, he met a virgin drawing water at a fountain, to whom having communicated his errand, she ordered him to ascend the

C H A P.
XXXVII.His adventure at
Gordium.⁶⁶ See vol. i. c. vii. p. 290.⁶⁷ Arrian, p. 27. calls it *υπερψηλον, και παντη αποτομον*. "Exceedingly high, and every where abrupt." But in Gordius's time, at least, the Telmessians must have possessed some villages on the plain. See Arrian, p. 30.

C H A P. XXXVII. hill, and there sacrifice to Jupiter. Gordius entertained her to accompany him, that the sacrifice might be performed in due form. She obeyed. Gordius took her to wife. She bore him a son, Midas, who, when he arrived at manhood, was distinguished by his beauty and valor. It should seem that the father of Midas had, in consequence of his marriage, settled among the Telmessians, with whose arts his son would naturally become acquainted. The Phrygians, at that time, were harassed by cruel seditions; they consulted an oracle, who told them, that a chariot should soon bring them a king, who would appease their tumults. While the assembly still deliberated on the answer given them by the oracle, Midas arrived in his chariot⁶⁸, accompanied by his parents. The appearance of Midas justified the prediction, and announced him worthy of royalty. The Phrygians elected him king; their seditions ceased; and Midas, in gratitude to Jupiter, consecrated his father's chariot, and suspended it by a cord made of the inner rind of the cornel-tree, the knot of which was so nicely tied, that no eye could perceive where it began or ended. Whether Alexander untied, or cut the knot, is left uncertain by historians⁶⁹; but all agree that his followers retired

⁶⁸ The Greek word *ἀμαξία* expresses either a chariot or a wagon. Perhaps neither the name, nor the thing, were then distinguished in Phrygia. Curtius tells us, this *ἀμαξία* was "cultu haud sane a vilioribus vulgatisque usu abhorrens," l. iii. c. i. p. 6.

⁶⁹ Curtius, l. iii. c. i. says, he cut it with his sword. Plutarch says he untied it. Vit. Alexand. p. 1236. Arrian gives both ac-

with complete conviction that he had fulfilled the oracle. A seasonable storm of thunder confirmed their credulity⁷⁰; and the belief, that their master was destined to be lord of Asia, could not fail to facilitate that event.

The rapid progress of Alexander, and his continual exertions during that season of the year when armies are little accustomed to keep the field, tends to heighten our surprise at the inactivity of Darius, an ambitious prince, who had signalized his valor against the fiercest nations of Asia. But Darius, corrupted by the honors of royalty, employed very different weapons against Alexander, from those by which the champion of Ochus had defeated the warlike chief of the Cardusians⁷¹. Instead of opposing the invader in the field, he hoped to destroy him by the arm of an assassin. Many traitors were suborned for this infamous purpose, but none with greater prospect of success than Alexander, the son of Æropus. This man owed his life to the clemency of the son of Philip, when his brothers Heromenes and Arrabæus were condemned as accessory to the murder of that prince. He was numbered among the companions of Alexander, and had recently been intrusted with the command of the Thessalian cavalry, after the

Treachery
of Alexan-
der, the
son of Æ-
ropus.

counts; and the latter on the authority of Aristobulus, which is therefore the more probable.

⁷⁰ Arrian, p. 31.

⁷¹ Darius killed a warrior of that nation who challenged the bravest of the Persians to single combat. This exploit gained him the government of Armenia, and made him be afterwards deemed worthy of the Persian throne. Diodor. l. xvii. p. 565.

C. H. A. P. nomination of Calas, who held that high office, to
 XXXVII. the government of Phrygia. The promise of ten thousand talents, and of the kingdom of Macedon, obliterated his gratitude and seduced his allegiance. But his treason escaped not the vigilance of Parmenio⁷², who communicated the intelligence to his master, while encamped in the neighbourhood of Phaselis. By the same faithful minister, the unworthy son of Æropus was seized, and committed to safe custody.

The army
 of Darius
 marches
 from Upper Asia.

Darius, without desisting from his intrigues, finally had recourse to arms. His troops were assembled in the plains of Babylon. They consisted of a hundred thousand Persians, of whom thirty thousand were cavalry. The Medes supplied almost half that number, and the Armenians almost as many as the Medes. The Barcani, the Hyrcanians, the inhabitants of the Caspian shores, and nations more obscure or more remote, sent their due proportion of cavalry and infantry for this immense army, which, including thirty thousand Greek mercenaries in the Persian service, is said

⁷² According to Arrian, p. 25. a swallow shared the honor with Parmenio. While Alexander was asleep at mid-day, the swallow hovered around his head, perching sometimes on one side of his couch, and sometimes on another. Its incessant chattering roused the king from sleep: but being exceedingly fatigued, he gently removed the bird with his hand. Instead of endeavouring to escape, the swallow perched on his head, and ceased not being extremely noisy and troublesome, till he thoroughly awoke. The prodigy was immediately communicated to Aristander the Telmessian soothsayer, who declared that a conspiracy was formed against the king by one of his domestics and friends; but that it would certainly be discovered, because the swallow is a domestic bird, a friend to man, and exceedingly loquacious.

to have amounted to six hundred thousand men. C H A P. XXXVII.
The magnificence of the Persians had not diminished since the days of Xerxes; neither had their military knowledge increased. Their muster was taken by the same contrivance employed by that monarch⁷³. Ten thousand men were separated from the rest, formed into a compact body, and surrounded by a palisade. The whole army, passing successively into this inclosure, were rather measured, than numbered, by their generals. Nothing could exceed the splendor that surrounded Darius; the trappings of his horses, the rich materials and nice adjustment of his chariot, the profusion of jewels which covered his royal mantle, vest, and tiara. The dress, and even the armor of his guards, were adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones. He was attended by his family, his treasures, and his concubines, all escorted by numerous bands of horse and foot. His courtiers and generals copied, as usual, too faithfully, the effeminate manners of their master⁷⁴.

While this pageant, for it deserves not the name of army, slowly advanced towards Lower Asia, Alexander left Gordium, and marched to Ancyra, a city of Galatia. In that place, he received an embassy from the Paphlagonians, who surrendered to him the sovereignty of their province, but entreated that his army might not enter their borders.

Alexander passes the northern Gate of Cilicia.

⁷³ See vol. ii. c. ix. p. 37, et seqq.

⁷⁴ Propinquorum, amicorumque, conjuges huic agmini proxima. Q. Curtius, l. iii. c. iii. et Diodor. l. xvii. p. 530.

C H A P. He granted their request, and commanded them
XXXVII. to obey Calas, satrap of Phrygia. Alexander then marched victorious through Cappadocia; and Sabictas being appointed to the administration of that extensive province, the army encamped at the distance of six miles from the Cilician frontier, at a place which, since the memorable expedition performed and described by Xenophon, retained the name of Cyrus's Camp. Towards the south, the rich plain of Cilicia is washed by the sea, and surrounded on three sides by lofty and almost impervious mountains. Arsames, governor of that country, had sent a body of troops to guard a post called the Gates, and the only pass which leads from Cappadocia into Cilicia. Apprized of this measure, Alexander left Parmenio and the heavy-armed troops in the Camp of Cyrus. At the first watch of the night, he led the targeteers, archers, and Agrians, to surprise the Persian forces stationed at the northern Gate of Cilicia. The Barbarians fled on his approach; and the pusillanimous Arsames, to whom the whole province was intrusted by Darius, prepared to plunder, and then abandon, his own capital of Tarsus. But he had only time to save his person. The rapidity of Alexander prevented the destruction of that city, where the inhabitants received him as their deliverer.

Falls sick
 at Tarsus.

At Tarsus, Alexander was detained by a malady, occasioned by excessive fatigue: or, as others say, by imprudently bathing, when heated, in the cold waters of the Cydnus, which flows through that

city, in a clear and rocky channel⁷⁵. Philip the Acarnanian was the only person who despaired not of his life. While this skilful physician administered a draught to his royal patient, a letter came from Parmenio, warning Alexander to beware of Philip, who had been bribed by Darius to poison him. Alexander took the potion, and gave Philip the letter; so that the physician read, while the king drank; a transaction which proved either his contempt of death, or his unshaken confidence in his friends; but which, by the admiration of his contemporaries and posterity⁷⁶, has been construed into a proof of both.

CHAP.
XXXVII.

The sickness of Alexander interrupted not the operations of the army. Parmenio was dispatched to seize the only pass on Mount Amanus, which divides Cilicia from Assyria. The king soon followed, having in one day's march reached Anchialos, an ancient city of vast extent, and surrounded with walls of prodigious thickness. The greatest curiosity of Anchialos was the tomb of Sardanapalus, distinguished by the statue of that effeminate tyrant, in the attitude of clapping his hands; and by an Assyrian inscription, breathing the true spirit of modern Epicurism. The original ran in verse to the following purpose: "Sardanapalus, son of

Alexander
marches to
Mallos.

⁷⁵ Curtius gives another reason for its excessive coldness: "Frigidissimus quippe nulla riparum amenitate inumbratus," J. iii. c. iv. From his labored description of this river, it seems as if he imagined *that* water must have possessed very extraordinary qualities, which proved hurtful to Alexander.

⁷⁶ See Arrian, p. 32. Curtius, l. iii. c. v.

C H A P. Anacyndaraxas, built Anchialos and Tarsus in one
XXXVII. day. As to you, stranger! eat, drink, and sport⁷⁷,
 for other human things are not worth *this*, alluding
 to the clap of his hands⁷⁸.

Alexander
 passes the
 Syrian
 straits;
 and Da-
 rius, in an
 opposite
 direction,
 the defiles
 of Ama-
 nus.

Having arrived at Mallos, an Argive colony at
 the eastern extremity of Cilicia, Alexander learned
 that Darius lay with his army in the extensive plain
 of Sochos, in the province of Comagene, distant
 only two days march from the Cilician frontier.
 The hostile armies were separated by the mountains
 which divide Cilicia and Syria. Alexander hastened
 to pass the straits called the Syrian Gates, pro-
 ceeded southwards along the bay of Issus, and en-
 camped before the city Mariandrus. At this place
 he received a very extraordinary piece of intelli-
 gence. His delay in Cilicia, which had been occa-
 sioned by sickness, and by the many pious cere-
 monies⁷⁹ with which he gratefully thanked Heaven
 for his recovery, was ascribed to very different
 motives by Darius and his flatterers. That perfid-
 ious race, the eternal bane of kings⁸⁰, easily

⁷⁷ The word translated "sport," is *παιζε* in Arrian, p. 32. But that author says, the Assyrian original had a more lascivious meaning. Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand. translates it *αφροδισιαζε*, "veneri indulge."

⁷⁸ Mr. de Guignes, so deservedly celebrated for his Oriental learning, proves this inscription to be entirely conformable to the style and manners of the East. See *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscrip.* tom. xxxiv. p. 416, et seqq.

⁷⁹ Processions with lighted torches, sacrifices to Æsculapius, gymnastic and musical contests. Arrian, l. ii. p. 33.

⁸⁰ Arrian expresses this sentiment with more than his usual energy: *Των κατα ηδονην ζυνοντων τε και ζυνεσσομενων επι κακω τοις αιετι βασιλευσι.*

persuaded the vain credulity of their master, that Alexander shunned his approach. The proud resentment of Darius was exasperated by the imagined fears of his adversary; with the impatience of a despot he longed to come to action; and not suspecting that Alexander would traverse the Syrian Gates in search of the enemy, he hastily determined to pass, in an opposite direction⁸¹, the straits of Amanus, in quest of Alexander. This fatal measure was carried into immediate execution, notwithstanding the strong representations of Amyntas⁸² the Macedonian, and of all Darius's Grecian counsellors⁸³, who unanimously exhorted him to wait the enemy in his present advantageous position. In the language of antiquity⁸⁴, an irresistible fate, which had determined that the Greeks should conquer the Persians, as the Persians had the Medes, and the Medes the Assyrians, impelled Darius to his ruin. Having passed the defiles of Amanus, he directed his march southward to the bay of Issus, and took the city of that name, which contained, under a feeble guard, the sick and wounded Macedonians, who had not been able to follow the army in its expeditious march across the

⁸¹ These movements are explained only by Arrian. Diodorus, Plutarch, and Curtius, not attending to the geography of the country, are inconsistent and unintelligible.

⁸² Amyntas, though an exile, was not a flatterer. He assured Darius, that Alexander would certainly come to any place where the Persians encamped. Arrian, p. 34.

⁸³ Aristomenes the Pheræan, Bianor the Acarnanian, Thymondas the son of Mentor, the Rhodian, and others mentioned by Arrian, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Arrian, Plut. Diodor. Curt.

C H A P. XXXVII. mountains. The Persians put these unhappy men to death with shocking circumstances of cruelty³⁵, little thinking that Alexander was now behind, prepared to avenge their fate.

Circumstances which encouraged the Macedonian army.

That enlightened prince, who could scarcely believe the folly of Darius, sent a small flat-bottomed vessel to reconnoitre his motions. This vessel speedily returned to Alexander, and saluted him with the agreeable news that his enemies were now in his hands. Having summoned an assembly, the king forgot none of those topics of encouragement which the occasion so naturally suggested, since the meanest Macedonian soldier could discern the injudicious movements of the Persians, who had quitted a spacious plain, to entangle themselves among intricate mountains, where their numerous cavalry, in which they chiefly excelled, could perform no essential service. In preparing for this important contest, the spirits of the Macedonians were elevated by a recollection of many fortunate occurrences. Ptolemy, as they had recently learned, had made himself master of the strong fortresses in Caria. The brave Memnon indeed had escaped; but that able commander, who, to pave the way for invading Macedon, had attacked the Grecian isles with his fleet, was since dead; and his successors in command, after irritating the islanders by their insolence and oppression, were defeated in all their designs by the vigilance of Antipater. The army of Alexander had lately increased, by many voluntary

³⁵ Χαλεπῶς αἰκισσάμενος ἀποκτείνει, Arrian, p. 34. It is remarkable, that he ascribes this ferocity to Darius himself.

accessions of the Asiatics, who admired his courage, mildness, and uninterrupted good fortune; and the soldiers, who the preceding year had been sent to winter in Europe, had not only rejoined the camp, but brought with them numerous levies from Greece, Macedon, and all the adjoining countries. By men thus disposed to indulge the most sanguine hopes, the military harangue of their prince was received with a joyous ardor. They embraced each other; they embraced their admired commander; and his countenance confirming their alacrity, they entreated to be led to battle⁸⁶.

Alexander commanded them first to refresh their bodies; but immediately dispatched some horse and archers to clear the road to Issus. In the evening he followed with his whole army, and about midnight took possession of the Syrian straits. The soldiers were then allowed a short repose, sufficient guards being posted on the surrounding eminences. At dawn, the army was in motion, marching by its flank while the passage continued narrow; and new columns being successively brought up, as the mountains gradually opened. Before reaching the river Pinarus, on the opposite bank of which the enemy were encamped, the Macedonians had formed in order of battle; Alexander leading the right wing, and the left being commanded by Parmenio. They continued to advance, till their right was flanked by a mountain, and their left by the sea, from which Parmenio was ordered not to recede. Darius being apprized of the enemy's

Disposition
of both
armies.

⁸⁶ Arrian, p. 33 — 36.

C. H. A. P. approach, detached a body of fifty thousand cavalry
 XXXVII. and light infantry across the Pinarus, that the remainder might have room to form without confusion. His Greek mercenaries, amounting to thirty thousand, he posted directly opposite to the Macedonian phalanx. The Greeks were flanked on both sides by double that number of Barbarians, also heavy armed. The nature of the ground admitted not more troops to be ranged in front; but as the mountain on Alexander's left, sloped inwards, Darius placed on that sinuosity twenty thousand men, who could see the enemy's rear, though it appears not that they could advance against them. Behind the first line the rest of the Barbarians were ranged, according to their various nations, in close and unserviceable ranks; Darius being every where encumbered by the vastness of a machine, which he had not skill to wield⁸⁷.

The battle
 of Issus.
 Olymp.
 cxi. 4.
 A. C. 333.

His pusillanimity was more fatal than his ignorance. When he perceived the Macedonians advancing, he commanded his men to maintain their post on the Pinarus, the bank of which was in some places high and steep; where the access seemed easier, he gave orders to raise a rampart; precautions which showed the enemy, that even before the battle began, the mind of Darius was already conquered⁸⁸. Alexander, meanwhile, rode along

⁸⁷ Arrian, p. 36.

⁸⁸ Καὶ ταύτῃ εὐθὺς δηλὸς ἐγένετο τοῖς ἀμφοῖν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῇ γνώμῃ δεδωμένος. "And thence he immediately appeared to those about Alexander to be already enslaved in his mind." In those times, slavery was the natural consequence of being conquered in battle.

the ranks, exhorting, by name, not only the commanders of the several brigades, but the tribunes and inferior officers, and even such captains of the auxiliaries as were distinguished by rank, or ennobled by merit. Perceiving it necessary to moderate the martial ardor that prevailed, he commanded his forces to advance with a regular and slow step, lest the phalanx should fluctuate through too eager a contention. Their motion quickened as they proceeded within reach of the enemy's darts. Alexander, with those around him, then sprung into the river. Their impetuosity frightened the Barbarians, who scarcely waited the first shock⁸⁹. But the Greek mercenaries perceiving that by the rapidity and success of Alexander's assault, the Macedonians were bent towards the right wing, which was separated from the centre, seized the decisive moment of rushing into the interval, where the phalanx was disjointed. A fierce engagement ensued, the Greeks eager to regain the honor of their name, the Macedonians ambitious to maintain the unsullied glory of the phalanx. This desperate action proved fatal to Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, and other officers of distinction; to the number of a hundred and twenty. Meanwhile, the Macedonian right wing having repelled the enemy with great slaughter, wheeled to the left, and, animated by recent victory, finally prevailed

⁸⁹ They did, however, wait it; for Arrian says, *εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐν χερσὶ μάχῃ ἐγένετο*. The “*μάχῃ ἐν χερσὶ ἐγένετο*”; when the darts and javelins ceased, and the contending parties came to the use of manual, instead of missile, weapons.

C H A P. against the obstinacy of the Greeks. A body of
xxxvii. Persian horse still maintained the battle against the
Thessalian cavalry; nor did they quit the field,
till informed that Darius had betaken himself to
flight⁹⁰.

Rout of
the Persians.

The overthrow of the Persians was now manifest on all sides. Their cavalry and infantry suffered equally in the rout; for their horsemen were heavy-armed, and encumbered by the narrowness of the roads, and their own terror. Ptolemy, the son of Lagus⁹¹, says, that the pursuers filled up the ditches with dead bodies. The number of the slain was computed at a hundred and ten thousand, among whom were many satraps and nobles.

Escape of
Darius.

The great king had discovered little obstinacy in defending the important objects at stake. His left wing was no sooner repelled by Alexander, than he drove away in his chariot, accompanied by his courtiers. When the road grew rough and mountainous, he continued his flight on horseback, leaving his shield, his mantle, and his bow, which were found by the Macedonians. Alexander, who had received a troublesome wound on the thigh⁹², judged it improper to pursue him, till the Greek mercenaries were dispersed; and the approach of night facilitated his escape.

⁹⁰ Arrian, l. ii. p. 36, et seqq.

⁹¹ Idem, ibid.

⁹² Chares, cited by Plutarch, says, that Alexander received this wound from the hand of Darius; but the silence of Alexander's letter to Antipater, in which he gave an account of the battle, and of his wound on the thigh, refutes that improbable assertion.

The Persian camp afforded abundant proof of Asiatic luxury and opulence⁹³. It contained however in money but three thousand talents; the magnificent treasures, which accompanied the great king, being deposited, previous to the battle, in the neighbouring city of Damascus. This inestimable booty was afterwards seized by order of Alexander, who found in the camp a booty more precious, the wife and daughters of Darius, his mother Syfigambis, and his infant son. In an age when prisoners of war were synonymous with slaves, Alexander behaved to his royal captives with the tenderness of a parent, blended with the respect of a son. In his chaste attention to Statura, the fairest beauty of the East, his conduct forms a remarkable contrast with that of his admired Achilles, whom he equalled in valor, but far surpassed in humanity. These illustrious princesses bore their own misfortunes with patience, but burst into dreadful lamentations, when informed by an eunuch that he had seen the mantle of Darius in the hands of a Macedonian foldier. Alexander sent to assure them that Darius yet lived; and next day visited them in person, accompanied by Hephestion, the most affectionate

C H A P.
XXXVII.The captives and
booty.

⁹³ Among other things of value in the tent of Darius, was found a casket of exquisite workmanship, adorned with jewels. It was employed to hold Darius's perfumes. — Alexander said, "I use no perfumes, but shall put into it something more precious." This was the Iliad of Homer, corrected by Aristotle, and often mentioned by ancient writers; ἡ ἐκ τῆς ναφθύνης. "the Iliad of the casket." Strabo, l. xiii. p. 888. Plut. in Alexand.

of his friends⁹⁴. Syfigambis approached to prostrate⁹⁵ herself before the conqueror, according to the custom of the East; but not knowing the king, as their dress was alike, she turned to Hephestion. Hephestion suddenly stepping back, Syfigambis saw her mistake, and was covered with confusion. "You mistook not, madam!" said the king, "Hephestion is likewise Alexander⁹⁶."

The virtues of Alexander expand with his prosperity

The virtues of Alexander long continued to expand with his prosperity; but he was never more inimitably great, than after the battle of Issus. The city of Soli, in Cilicia, though inhabited by a Grecian colony, had discovered uncommon zeal in the cause of Darius. To punish this unnatural apostacy from Greece, Alexander demanded a heavy contribution from Soli; but, after the victory, he remitted this fine. Impelled by the same generous magnanimity, he released the Athenian captives taken at the battle of the Granicus; a favor which he had sternly refused, in the dawn of his fortune. In Damascus, several Grecian ambassadors were found among the captives. Alexander ordered them to be brought into his presence. Theffaliscus and Dionysodorus, the Thebans, he instantly declared free, observing, that the misfortunes of their country justly entitled the Thebans to apply to Darius, and to every

⁹⁴ Alexander, with his usual discernment, characterized the affection of Hephestion: "Craterus loves the prince; Hephestion loves Alexander." Plut. in Alexand.

⁹⁵ Προσελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνῆσαι. Arrian, l. ii. p. 39.

⁹⁶ Curtius, l. iii. c. xii. Arrian, p. 39.

prince from whom they might derive relief. Iphi- c h a p.
crates, the Athenian, he treated with the respect xxxvii.
which appeared due both to his country and to his
father. Euthycles the Spartan, alone, he detained
in safe custody, because Sparta suddenly rejected the
friendship of Macedon. But as his forgiveness still
increased with his power⁹⁷, he afterwards released
Euthycles.

⁹⁷ Arrian, p. 42.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Siege of Tyre. — Desperate Resistance of Gaza. — Easy Conquest of Egypt. — Foundation of Alexandria. — Alexander visits the Temple of Jupiter Ammon. — Marches into Assyria. — Battle of Gaugamela. — Darius betrayed and slain. — Alexander pursues the Murderers of Darius. — Bactrian and Scythian War. — Siege of the Sogdian Fortrefs. — Surrender of Chorienes. — Commotions in Greece — Checked by Antipater. — The Cause of Ctesiphon and Demosthenes. — Æschines banished. — State of Greece during Alexander's Reign.

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

Alexander
receives an
embassy
from Tyre.
Olymp.
cxi. 4.
A. C. 333.

IN his precipitate flight across the ridges of Amanus, Darius was gradually joined by about four thousand men, chiefly Greeks. Under this feeble escort, he departed hastily from Sochos, pursued his march eastward, and crossed the Euphrates at Thapsacus, eager to interpose that deep and rapid stream between himself and the conqueror¹. Alexander's inclination to seize the person of his adversary could not divert him from the judicious plan of war, to which he immoveably adhered. In a council of his friends, he declared his opinion, that it would be highly imprudent

¹ Ὡς ταχιστα μεσον αὐτῶ τε καὶ τῶ Αλεξάνδρῳ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποιεῖν.
Arrian, p. 40.

to attempt the conquest of Babylon, until he had C H A P.
thoroughly subdued the maritime provinces; be- XXXVIII.
cause, should he be carried by an unseasonable co-
lerity into Upper Asia, while the enemy com-
manded the sea, the war might be removed to
Europe, where the Lacedæmonians were open
enemies, and the Athenians doubtful friends.
Having appointed governors of Cilicia and Cælo-
Syria, he therefore directed his march southward
along the Phœnician coast. Aradus, Marathus,
and Sidon², readily opened their gates. The Ty-
rians sent a submissive embassy of their most il-
lustrious citizens, among whom was the son of
Azelmicus, their king, who had himself embarked
with Autophradates in the Persian fleet. They
humbly informed Alexander, that the community³
from which they came, was prepared to obey his
commands. Having complimented the city and
the ambassadors, he desired them to acquaint their
countrymen, that he intended shortly to enter
Tyre, and to perform sacrifice there to Hercules⁴.

² I omit the story of Abdelermius, whom Alexander raised from the humble condition of a gardener to the throne of Sidon. Vid. Curt. l. iv. c. i. Diodorus, l. xvii. relates the same story as happening in Tyre. Plutarch, de Fortun. Alexand. translates the scene to Paphos. Amidst such inconsistencies, the silence of Arrian seemed worthy of imitation.

³ Arrian says, that these ambassadors were ἀπο τῆς πόλεως ἐσταλμένοι. It should seem that the king of Tyre was a very limited prince, and the government rather republican than monarchical.

⁴ The reader may recollect, that Philip sent a similar message to Atheas, king of the Scythians. Such pious pretences were

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

Descrip-
tion and
state of
Tyre.

Upon this alarming intelligence, the Tyrians discovered equal firmness and prudence. A second embassy assured Alexander of their unalterable respect, but at the same time communicated to him their determined resolution, that neither the Persians nor the Macedonians should ever enter their walls. This boldness appears remarkable in a nation of merchants, long unaccustomed to war.⁵ But the resources of their wealth and commerce seem to have elevated the courage, instead of softening the character, of the Tyrians. Their city, which, in the language of the East, was styled the eldest daughter of Sidon⁶, had long reigned queen of the sea. The *purple* shell-fish, which is found in great abundance on their coast⁷, early gave them possession of that lucrative trade, and confined chiefly to the Tyrians the advantage of clothing the princes and nobles in most civilized countries of antiquity⁸. Tyre was separated from the continent by a frith half a mile broad; its walls exceeded a hundred feet⁹ in height, and extended

often employed by antiquity to justify very unwarrantable transactions.

⁵ Old Tyre was built on the continent, by the Sidonians, 1252 B. C. It was besieged by Salmanesar, 719 B. C.; and by Nebuchadnezar, 572 B. C. The latter took the place after a siege of thirteen years; but the greater part of the inhabitants had previously fled with their effects to a neighbouring island, and founded the city described in the text. Vid. Joseph. l. viii. cap. ii. l. ix. cap. xiv. et l. x. cap. xi.

⁶ Isaiah, xxiii. 12.

⁷ Strabo, l. vi. p. 521.

⁸ Homer, Herodot. etc. passim. See likewise vol. i. p. 336.

⁹ Arrian says one hundred and fifty feet. The copies probably are erroneous.

eighteen miles in circumference. The convenience of its situation, the capaciousness of its harbours, and the industrious ingenuity of its inhabitants, rendered it the commercial capital of the world. Its magazines were plentifully provided with military and naval stores, and it was peopled by numerous and skilful artificers in stone, wood, and iron ¹⁹.

Notwithstanding the strength of the city, Alexander determined to form the siege of Tyre; and the difficulty of an undertaking, which seemed necessary in itself, and essential to the success of still more important enterprises, only stimulated the activity of a prince, who knew that, on many emergencies, boldness is the greatest prudence. The first operation which he directed, was to run a mole from the continent to the walls of Tyre, where the sea was about three fathom deep. The necessity of this measure arose from the imperfection of the battering engines of antiquity, which had little power, except at small distances. On the side of the continent, the work was carried on with great alacrity; but when the Macedonians approached the city, they were much incommoded by the depth of water, and exceedingly galled by darts and missile weapons from the battlements. The Tyrians, likewise, having the command of the sea, annoyed the workmen from their gallies, and retarded the completion of their labors. To resist these assaults, Alexander erected, on the furthest

Alexander
besieges
Tyre.
Olymp.
cxii. 1.
A. C. 332

Throws a
mole across
the frith;

¹⁹ Plutarch, Curtius, Arrian.

C H A P. XXXVIII. projecture of the mole, two wooden towers, on which he placed his engines, and which he covered with leather and raw hides to resist the ignited darts and fire-ships of the enemy. This contrivance, however, the ingenuity of his adversaries soon rendered ineffectual. Having procured a huge hulk, they filled it with dry twigs, pitch, sulphur, and other combustibles. Toward the prow, they raised two masts, each of which was armed with a double yard, from whose extremities were suspended vast caldrons, filled with whatever might add to the violence of the conflagration. Having prepared this uncommon instrument of destruction, they patiently waited a favorable wind. The hulk was then towed into the sea by two gallees. As she approached the mole, the rowers set her on fire, and escaped by swimming. The works of the Macedonians were soon thrown into a blaze. The enemy, failing forth in boats, prevented them from extinguishing the flames; and the labor of many weeks was thus in one day reduced to ruins¹¹.

Alexander
raises a new
mole.

The perseverance of Alexander was proof against such accidents. He immediately commanded new engines to be made, and a new mole to be raised, stronger and broader than the preceding. The orders of a prince, who directed every operation in person, and whose bodily toils exceeded those of the meanest soldier, were always obeyed with alacrity. The ruins of old Tyre afforded abundance of stone; wood was brought from Anti-

¹¹ Arrian, p. 44, et seqq.

Libanus¹²; and it should seem that the Arabians, C H A P. having disturbed the Macedonian workmen, were XXXVIII. repelled by Alexander, which gave rise to the improbable fiction of his having conquered Arabia. By incredible exertions, the mole was at length built, and the battering engines were erected. The arrival of four thousand Peloponnesian forces seasonably reinforced Alexander, and revived the courage of his troops, exhausted by fatigue and dejected by defeat. At the same time the fleets of the maritime provinces which he had subdued, came to offer their assistance in an undertaking, which could scarcely have proved successful, while the Tyrians commanded the sea. The squadrons of Lower Asia were joined by the naval force of Rhodes and Cyprus. The whole armament of Alexander amounted to two hundred and twenty-four vessels¹³, so that the Tyrians, who hitherto

His military and naval reinforcements.

¹² Curtius confounds Anti-Libanus with Mount Libanus. It would be endless to notice his errors, exaggerations, and fictions in the account of this siege, which is one of the most romantic passages in his history. Curtius writes to the fancy, not to the judgment; and to readers of a certain taste the picturesque beauties of his style will atone for errors in matter of fact. He may be allowed to raise an imaginary storm, who can describe it like Curtius. "Tum inhorrescens mare paullatim levare, deinde acriori vento concitatum, fluctus cedere, et inter se navigia collidere. Jamque scindi cœperant vincula, quibus connexæ quadriremes erant, ruerent tabulata, et cum ingenti fragore in profundum secum milites trahere." It is Alexander, whose actions he disfigures and renders incredible, not the reader, whose fancy he amuses, that is entitled to condemn Curtius.

¹³ Curtius, l. iv. c. iii. says, that it consisted of one hundred and eighty sail. Plutarch. in Alexand. says, that the haven of

C H A P. confided in their fleet, now retired behind the
XXXVIII. defences of their ports for safety.

Singular
operations
of the
siege.

But these persevering islanders, though they prudently declined an unequal combat, were forsaken neither by their activity nor their courage. The hulk and gallies¹⁴, destined to advance the battering engines against their walls, were assailed with continual showers of ignited arrows¹⁵, and other missile weapons, which came with peculiar effect from wooden towers newly raised on their lofty battlements. This distant hostility retarded, but could not prevent, the approaches of the enemy. The purpose of the Tyrians was better effected by casting down huge stones into the sea, which hindered access to the walls. To clear these encumbrances required the perseverance of the Macedonians, and the animating presence of Alexander. Before the work could be accomplished, the enemy advanced in covered vessels, and cut the cables of the hulks employed in that laborious service. Alexander commanded a squadron to advance and repel the Tyrians. Yet even this did not facilitate the removal of the bar; for the islanders, being expert divers, plunged under water, and again

Tyre was blocked up with two hundred triremes. Arrian distinctly mentions the number and species of ships sent by each city or province. From Macedon there came, he says, a vessel of fifty oars, πεντηκοντορος; a circumstance which proves that, on this emergency, Alexander had taken pains to collect ships from all quarters.

¹⁴ Such vessels were used for this purpose, as were the stoutest failers. Arrian, p. 46.

¹⁵ Πυρροποις οἰστοῖς.

cutting the cables, set the Macedonian vessels adrift. It thus became necessary to prepare chains, which were used instead of ropes; by which contrivance the hulks were secured in firm anchorage, the bank of stones was removed, and the battering engines advanced to the walls.

In this extremity the Tyrians, still trusting to their courage, determined to attack the Cyprian squadron, stationed at the mouth of the harbour which looked towards Sidon. The boldness of this design could only be surpassed by the deliberate valor with which it was carried into execution. The mouth of the haven they had previously covered with spread sails, to conceal their operations from the enemy. The hour of attack was fixed at mid-day, at which time the Greeks and Macedonians were usually employed in private affairs, or the care of their bodies, and Alexander commonly retired to his pavilion, erected near the harbour which looked towards Egypt. The best sailing vessels were carefully selected from the whole fleet¹⁶, and manned with the most expert rowers, and the most resolute soldiers, all inured to the sea, and well armed for fight. At first they came forth in a line, slowly and silently; but having proceeded within sight of the Cyprians, they at once clashed their oars, raised a shout, and advanced abreast of each other to the attack. Several of the enemy's ships were sunk at the first shock;

C H A P.
XXXVIII.

The Tyrians defeated at sea.

¹⁶ They consisted, says Arrian, in five choice quinqueremes, as many quadriremes, and seven triremes. See note, vol. i. p. 203, et seqq.

C H A P. others were dashed in pieces against the shore.
 XXXVIII. Alexander, who had fortunately that day tarried but a short time in his pavilion, was no sooner informed of this desperate sally, than, with admirable presence of mind, he immediately ordered such vessels as were ready, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby prevent the remainder of the Tyrian fleet from joining their victorious companions. Meanwhile, with several quinquereme, and five trireme, gallies, hastily prepared, he sailed round to attack the Tyrians. The besieged observing from their walls the approach of Alexander, endeavoured, by shouts and signals, to recall their ships. They had scarcely changed their course, when the enemy assailed, and soon rendered them unserviceable. The men saved themselves by swimming; few vessels escaped; two were taken at the very entrance of the harbour.

Tyre taken
 by assault
 Olymp.
 cxii. i.
 A. C. 332.
 July.

The issue of these naval operations decided the fate of Tyre. Unawed by the hostile fleet, the Macedonians now fearlessly advanced their engines on all sides. Amidst repeated assaults during two days, the besiegers displayed the ardor of enthusiasm¹⁷, the besieged the fury of despair. From

¹⁷ From the beginning, the difficulties of the siege had appeared almost unsurmountable to the soldiers. "But Alexander," says Curtius, "*haudquaquam rudis tractandi militares animos, speciem sibi Herculis in somno oblatam esse pronunciat, dextram porrigentis.*" The diviners thence concluded, as Arrian tells us, that Tyre would be taken, but that it would be an Herculean labor. Alexander continued throughout the siege to employ the aids of superstition. At one time it was said, that Apollo was

towers equal in height to the walls, the Greeks C H A P.
and Macedonians fought hand to hand with the XXXVIII.
enemy. By throwing pontoons across, the bravest
sometimes passed over, even to the battlements.
In other parts, the Tyrians successfully employed
hooks and grappling-irons to remove the assailants.
On those who attempted scaling-ladders, they
poured vessels of burning sand, which penetrated
to the bone. The vigor of the attack was opposed
by as vigorous a resistance. The shock of the
battering engines was deadened by green hides
and coverlets of wool, and whenever an opening
was effected, the bravest combatants advanced to
defend the breach. But time and fatigue, which
exhausted the vigor of the enemy, only confirmed
the perseverance of Alexander. On the third day,
the engines assailed the walls; and the fleet, divided
into two squadrons, attacked the opposite har-
bours. A wide breach being effected, Alexander
commanded the hulks, which carried the engines,
to retire, and others, bearing the scaling-ladders,
to advance, that his soldiers might enter the town
over the ruins. The targeteers, headed by Ad-
metus, first mounted the breach. This gallant
commander was slain by a spear; but Alexander,

about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fastened
him with golden chains to prevent his elopement. At another,
Alexander dreamed that a satyr playing before him, long eluded
his grasp, but finally allowed himself to be caught. The augurs
divided the word Σατυρος, a Satyr, into two syllables, Σα Τυρος,
Tyre is thine. By such coarse artifices did Alexander conquer
the world.

C H A P. who was present wherever danger called, immediately followed with the royal band of *Companions*.
XXXVIII. At the same time the Phœnician fleet broke into the harbour of Egypt, and the Cyprians into that of Sidon. After their walls were taken, the townsmen still rallied, and prepared for defence. The length of the siege, and still more the cruelty of the Tyrians, who having taken some Grecian vessels from Sidon, butchered their crews on the top of their wall, and threw their bodies into the sea, in sight of the whole Macedonian army, provoked the indignation of Alexander, and exasperated the fury of the victors. Eight thousand Tyrians were slain; thirty thousand were reduced to servitude¹⁸. The principal magistrates, together with some Carthaginians who had come to worship the gods of their mother-country, took refuge in the temple of Tyrian Hercules. They were saved by the clemency or piety of Alexander, who had lost four hundred men in this obstinate siege of seven months¹⁹.

Submission of
Judæa.

The conquest of Phœnicia was followed by the submission of the neighbouring province of Judæa²⁰.

¹⁸ Curtius, l. iv. c. iv. says, that fifteen thousand Tyrians were saved by their Sidonian brethren, who clandestinely embarked them in their ships, and transported them to Sidon. This circumstance, omitted by Arrian, derives some probability from the vigorous resistance which, nineteen years afterwards, Tyre again made to the arms of Antigonus. Vid. Diodor. Sicul. p. 702 — 704.

¹⁹ Arrian, l. ii. p. 44 — 50.

²⁰ All the historians of Alexander are silent concerning his journey to Jerusalem, and his extraordinary transactions there.

But in the road leading to Egypt, the progress of the conqueror was interrupted by the strong city of Gaza, situate on a high hill, near the confines of the Arabian desert²¹. This place, distant about two miles from the sea, and surrounded by marshes or a deep sand, which rendered it extremely difficult of access, was held for Darius by the loyalty of Batis²², an eunuch, who had prepared to resist Alexander by hiring Arabian troops, and by

Desperate
resistance
of Gaza.

described by Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. This story, invented by the patriotic vanity of the Jews, is totally inconsistent with the narrative of Arrian, copied in the text. As all Palestine, except Gaza, had submitted to his arms, "Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης προσκυχωρηνοῦσα ἦν." Alexander had no occasion to march against Jerusalem. The conversation between Alexander, Parmenio, and the high-priest Jadduah, as related by Josephus, is likewise contradictory to the best-authenticated events in the reign of Alexander. When the high-priest approached to implore the clemency of the conqueror, Alexander, says the Jewish historian, prostrated himself before that venerable old man; an action which so much surprised Parmenio, that he immediately asked his master, "Why he, whom all the world adored, should himself adore the high-priest of the Jews;" It will appear in the sequel, that Alexander did not require this mark of respect (the προσκυνησις), till long after the period alluded to by Josephus: neither could he be accompanied by the Chaldeans, as that writer alleges; much less could the high-priest, with propriety, have requested Alexander to permit the Jews, settled in Babylon and Medea, the free exercise of their religion, before that prince had conquered those countries, or even passed the Euphrates. See this subject farther examined in Moyle's Letters, vol. ii. p. 415. and in l'Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre, p. 65—69.

²¹ Εσχάτη δὲ φηκεῖτο ὡς ἐπ' Αἰγυπτὸν ἐκ Φοινίκης ἰοντι, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκτῇ τῆς ἐρήμου. "It is the last inhabited place on the road from Phœnicia to Egypt, on the skirts of the desert."

²² Curtius, l. iv. c. vi. calls him Belis; Josephus, l. xi. c. viii. Bahamefes.

C H A P. providing copious magazines. The Macedonian
 XXXVIII. engineers ²³ declared their opinion that Gaza was
 impregnable. But Alexander, unwilling to incur
 the disgrace and danger of leaving a strong fortress
 behind him, commanded a rampart to be raised
 on the south side of the wall, which seemed least
 secure against an attack. His engines were scarcely
 erected, when the garrison made a furious sally,
 and threw them into flames. It required the pre-
 sence of the king to save the rampart, and to
 prevent the total defeat of the Macedonians.
 Warned by a heavenly admonition ²⁴, he had
 hitherto kept beyond the reach of the enemy's
 darts; and when the danger of his troops made
 him forget the divine omen, a weapon, thrown
 from a catapult, pierced his shield and breast plate,
 and wounded him in the shoulder. Soon after-
 wards the engines, which had been used in the
 siege of Tyre, arrived by sea. A wall of incredible
 height and breadth ²⁵ was run entirely round the
 city; the Macedonians raised their batteries; the
 miners ²⁶ were busy at the foundation; breaches

²³ *Οἱ μηχανοποιοί.* the engine-makers; it should seem that the same persons who made the engines, directed the application of them.

²⁴ While Alexander was sacrificing, a bird of prey let fall a stone on his head. According to Aristander, the soothsayer, this prodigy portended that the city should be taken, but that Alexander would be exposed to danger in the siege.

²⁵ *Ευρος μὲν ἐς δύο σταδίους, ὕψος δὲ ἐς πόδας πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους.* "Two furlongs in breadth, two hundred and fifty feet in height;" but the text is absurdly erroneous.

²⁶ *Ὑπονομῶν τε ἀλλή καὶ ἀλλή οὐρυσσομένων.* Arrian, p. 51. This was an uncommon expedient, and used only on great emergencies.

were effected ; and , after repeated assaults , the city was taken by storm. When their wall was undermined , and their gates in possession of the enemy , the inhabitants still fought desperately , and , without losing ground ²⁷ , perished to a man. Their wives and children were enslaved ; and Gaza , being repeopled from the neighbouring territory , served as a place of arms to restrain the incursions of the Arabs.

The obstinate resistance of the obscure fortress of Gaza , was contrasted by the ready submission of the celebrated kingdom of Egypt. In seven days march , Alexander reached the maritime city of Pelusium , to which he had previously sent the fleet , with an injunction carefully to examine the neighbouring coasts , lakes , and rivers. His decisive victory at Issus , the shameful flight of Darius , the recent subjugation of Syria and Phœnicia , together with the actually defenceless state of Egypt (Mazaces the satrap of that large province having no Persian , and scarcely any regular troops) , opened a ready passage to the wealthy capital of Memphis. There , Alexander was received as sovereign , and immediately afterwards acknowledged by the whole nation ; a nation long accustomed to fluctuate between one servitude and another , always ready to obey the first summons of an invader , and ever willing to betray him for a new master. Grateful for his unexampled success ,

Easy conquest of Egypt.
Olymp. cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.

²⁷ Καὶ ἀπεθάνον πάντες αὐτῶν μαχόμενοι , ὡς ἑκάστοι ἐταχθῆσαν.
The highest panegyric , being the very words applied by Lysias , Herodotus , etc. to those who fell at Thermopylæ.

C. H. A. P. XXXVIII. Alexander sacrificed at Memphis to the Egyptian gods, and celebrated in that city gymnastic and musical games, which were adorned by Grecian artists, accompanying him for that purpose. Having placed sufficient garrisons both in Memphis and Pelusium, he embarked with the remainder of his forces, and sailed down the Nile to Canopus²⁸.

Founda-
tion of
Alexan-
dria.

At this place, Alexander found abundant occupation for his policy, in a country where there was no opportunity for exercising his valor. Continually occupied with the thoughts, not only of extending, but of improving, his conquests, the first glance of his discerning eye perceived what the boasted wisdom of Egypt had never been able to discover. The inspection of the Mediterranean coast, of the Red Sea, of the Lake Marœotis, and of the various branches of the Nile, suggested the design of founding a city, which should derive, from nature only, more permanent advantages than the favor of the greatest princes can bestow. Fired with this idea, he not only fixed the situation²⁹, but traced the plan of his intended capital,

²⁸ Arrian, p. 51, et seqq.

²⁹ Egypt, says Baron Tott, who lately surveyed that country with the eye of an engineer and a statesman, was formed to reunite the commerce of Europe, Africa, and the Indies. It stood in need of a harbour, vast, and of easy access. The mouths of the Nile afford neither of these advantages; the only proper situation was distant twelve leagues from the river, and in the heart of a desert. On this spot, which none but a great genius could have discovered, Alexander built a city, which, being joined to the Nile by a navigable canal, became the capital described

described the circuit of its walls, and assigned C H A P. the ground for its squares, market-places, and XXXVIII. temples³⁰. Such was the sagacity of his choice, that within the space of twenty years, Alexandria rose to distinguished eminence among the cities of Egypt and the East; and continued, through all subsequent ages of antiquity, the principal bond of union, the seat of correspondence and commerce, among the civilized nations of the earth.

In Egypt, an inclination seized Alexander to traverse the southern coast of the Mediterranean, that he might visit the revered temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon. This venerable shrine was situate in a cultivated spot of five miles in diameter, distant about fifty leagues from the sea, and rising with the most attractive beauty amidst the sandy deserts of Lybia. Among the African and Asiatic nations, the oracle of Ammon enjoyed a similar authority to that which Delphi had long held in Greece; and, perhaps, the conquest of the East could not have been so easily accomplished by Alexander, had he not previously obtained the sanction of this venerated shrine. Guided by prudence, or impelled by curiosity, he first proceeded two hundred miles westward, along the coast to Parætonius, through a desolate country,

Alexander
visits the
temple of
Ammon.
Olymp.
cxii. 1.
A. C. 332.

of nations, the metropolis of commerce. The trading nations of the earth still respect its ruins, heaped up by barbarism, and which require but the operation of a beneficent hand, to restore the boldest edifice which the human mind ever dared to conceive. *Mém. du Baron de Tott, t. ii. p. 179.*

³⁰ Arrian, l. iii. sub init.

C H A P. but not destitute of water. He then boldly pene-
 XXXVIII. trated towards the south, into the midland terri-
 tory, despising the danger of traversing an ocean
 of sand, unmarked by trees, mountains, or any
 other object that might direct his course, or vary
 this gloomy scene of uniform sterility³¹. The
 superstition of the ancients believed him to have
 been conducted by ravens, or serpents; which,
 without supposing a miracle, may, agreeably to
 the natural instinct of animals, have sometimes
 bent their course, through the desert, towards a
 well-watered and fertile spot, covered with palms
 and olives. The fountain, which was the source
 of this fertility formed not the least curiosity of
 the place. It was exceedingly cool at mid-day,
 and warm at mid-night; and, in the intervening
 time, regularly, every day, underwent all the in-
 termediate degrees of temperature. The adjacent
 territory produced a fossile salt, which was often
 dug out in large oblong pieces, clear as crystal.
 The priests of Ammon inclosed it in boxes of
 palm-tree, and bestowed it, in presents, on kings
 and other illustrious personages; such salt being
 regarded as purer than that procured from sea-
 water, and therefore preferred for the purpose
 of sacrifice, by persons curious in their wor-
 ship³².

Alexander
 settles the
 govern-
 ment of
 Egypt.

Alexander admired the nature of the place, con-
 sulted the oracle concerning the success of his ex-
 pedition, and received, as was universally reported,

³¹ Arrian, p. 53, et seqq. et Curtius, l. iv. c. vii.

³² Arrian, *ibid.*

a very favorable answer³³. Having thus effected C H A P. XXXVIII.
his purpose at the temple of Ammon, he returned to Memphis, in order finally to settle the affairs of Egypt. The inhabitants of that country were re-instituted in the enjoyment of their ancient religion and laws. Two Egyptians were appointed to administer the civil government; but the principal garrisons, Alexander prudently intrusted to the command of his most confidential friends³⁴; a policy alike recommended by the strength and importance of the country, and by the restless temper of its inhabitants.

The Macedonians had now extended their arms over Anatolia, Carmania, Syria, and Egypt; countries which anciently formed the seat of arts and empire, and which actually compose the strength and centre of the Turkish power. But Darius (after all hopes of accommodation had vanished with a conqueror who demanded unconditional submission to his clemency³⁵) still found

Darius collects an army from his eastern provinces.

³³ Vid. Plut. Alexand. p. 680. The priest, or prophet, meant to address Alexander by the affectionate title of *παῖδιον*, child, son; but not being sufficiently acquainted with the Greek tongue, he said, *παιῖ διοῦ*, son of Jupiter. On this wretched blunder were founded Alexander's pretensions to divinity. Plut. *ibid.* et Zonar. Annal. i. p. 134. The fictions of Curtius are inconsistent with Arrian, and with Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1168.

³⁴ Arrian observes, that the Romans seem to have imitated the jealousy of Alexander respecting Egypt. Sensible of the temptations of the governors of that province to revolt, they appointed, not senators, but men of the equestrian order, to be Proconsuls of Egypt. Arrian, p. 55.

³⁵ In this, Arrian and Curtius agree. The letters between Alexander and Darius are differently expressed by these writers.

C H A P. resources in his eastern provinces, Schirvan, Gilan,
 XXXVIII. Korofan, and the wide extent of territory between
 the Caspian and the Jaxartes. Not only the sub-
 jects of the empire, but the independent tribes in
 those remote regions, which in ancient and modern
 times have ever been the abode of courage and
 barbarity, rejoiced in an opportunity to signalize
 their restless valor. At the first summons, they
 poured down into the fertile plains of Assyria, and
 increased the army of Darius far beyond any pro-
 portion of force which he had hitherto collected.

Alexander
 marches
 into Assy-
 ria.
 Olymp.
 cxii. 2.
 A. C. 334.

Meanwhile, Alexander having received con-
 siderable reinforcements from Greece, Macedon,
 and Thrace, pursued his journey eastward from
 Phœnicia, passed the Euphrates at Thapsacus³⁶,
 boldly stemmed the rapid stream of the Tigris,
 and hastened to meet the enemy in Assyria. Darius
 had pitched his tents on the level banks of the
 Bumadus, near the obscure village of Gaugamela;
 but the famous battle, which finally decided the
 empire of the East, derived its name from Arbela,
 a town in the same province, sixty miles distant
 from the former, better known, and of easier
 pronunciation³⁷.

In both their accounts, which are totally inconsistent with each
 other, there are internal marks of falshood.

³⁶ Darius had intrusted the defence of the pass to Mazacus,
 with a body of cavalry, of which two thousand were Greeks.
 But on the first intelligence of Alexander's approach, Maza-
 cus abandoned his post, and drew off his forces. Arrian,
 p. 56.

³⁷ This reason, which is given by Arrian, could scarcely have
 appeared valid to any but a Greek. Vid. Arrian, p. 131.

The fourth day after passing the Tigris, Alexander was informed by his scouts, that they had seen some bodies of the enemy's horse, but could not discover their numbers. Upon this intelligence he marched forward in order of battle; but had not proceeded far, when he was met by other scouts, who having penetrated deeper into the country, or examined with greater accuracy, acquainted him that the hostile cavalry scarcely exceeded a thousand. This news made him alter his measures. The heavy-armed troops were commanded to slacken their pace. At the head of the royal cohort, the Pæonians, and auxiliaries, Alexander advanced with such celerity, that several of the Barbarians fell into his hands. These prisoners gave him very alarming accounts of the strength of Darius, who was encamped within a few hours march. Some made it amount to a million of foot, forty thousand horse, two hundred armed chariots, and fifteen elephants from the eastern banks of the Indus³⁸. Others exaggerated (if indeed it was an exaggeration) with more method and probability, reducing the infantry to six hundred thousand, and raising the cavalry to a hundred and forty-five thousand³⁹. But all agreed, that the present army was greatly more numerous, and composed of more warlike nations, than that which had fought at Issus⁴⁰.

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

Ap-
proaches
the enemy.

Their
numbers.

³⁸ Arrian, p. 57.

³⁹ Curtius, l. iv. c. xii. xiii. edit. Genev. The numbers are different in the other editions.

⁴⁰ Arrian et Curtius, loc. citat. Justin, l. xi. c. xii. Diodorus, l. xvii. c. xxxix. et liii. Orosius, l. iii. c. xvii. Plut. in Alexand.

C H A P.

XXXVIII.

Examines
the field of
battle.

Alexander received this information without testifying the smallest surprise. Having commanded a halt, he encamped four days, to give his men rest and refreshment. His camp being fortified by a good intrenchment, he left in it the sick and infirm, together with all the baggage; and, on the evening of the fourth day, prepared to march against the enemy, with the effective part of his army, which was said to consist of forty thousand infantry, and seven thousand horse, unencumbered with any thing but their provisions and armor. The march was undertaken at the second watch of the night, that the Macedonians, by joining battle in the morning, might enjoy the important advantage of having an entire day before them, to reap the full fruits of their expected victory. About half way between the hostile camps, some eminences intercepted the view of either army. Having ascended the rising ground, Alexander first beheld the Barbarians, drawn up in battle-array, and perhaps more skilfully marshalled than he had reason to apprehend. Their appearance, at least, immediately determined him to change his first resolution. He again commanded a halt, summoned a council of war, and different measures being proposed, acceded to the single opinion of Parmenio, who advised that the foot should remain stationary, until a detachment of horse had explored the field of battle⁴¹, and

⁴¹ Την χωραν πασαν ἵνα το εργον εσεσθαι εμελλεν. "The whole scene of the future action." Arrian, p. 58.

carefully examined the disposition of the enemy. C H A P. Alexander, whose conduct was equalled by his XXXVIII. courage, and both surpassed by his activity, performed those important duties in person, at the head of his light horse, and royal cohort. Having returned with unexampled celerity, he again assembled his captains, and encouraged them by a short speech. Their ardor corresponded with his own; and the soldiers, confident of victory, were commanded to take rest and refreshment⁴².

Meanwhile, Darius perceiving the enemy's approach, kept his men prepared for action. Notwithstanding the great length of the plain, he was obliged to contract his front, and form in two lines, each of which was extremely deep. According to the Persian custom, the king occupied the centre of the first line, surrounded by the princes of the blood, and the great officers of his court, and defended by his horse and foot-guards, amounting to fifteen thousand chosen men. These splendid troops, who seemed fitter for parade than battle, were flanked, on either side, by the Greek

Disposition
of the ene-
my;

⁴² Δειπνοποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε τὸν στρατὸν. "He commanded his army to sup and rest." Arrian. p. 58. This does not well agree with what is said, p. 57. ἔθεν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ ὅπλα φέρειν, "That the soldiers carried nothing but their armor." I have therefore supplied the word "provisions." Both Arrian (loc. citat.), and Curtius, l. iv. c. xiii. say, that Parmenio exhorted Alexander to attack the enemy in the night; to which the king answered, that he disdained κλεψαὶ τὴν νικῆν, "to steal the victory:" an answer worthy of his magnanimity and his prudence; since the day and the light were more favorable to the full exertion and display of his superior skill and courage.

C H A P. mercenaries, and other warlike battalions, carefully
 XXXVIII. selected from the whole army. The right wing consisted of the Medes, Parthians, Hyrcanians, and Sacæ; the left was chiefly occupied by the Bactrians, Persians, and Cardusians. The various nations composing this immense host were differently armed, with swords, spears, clubs, and hatchets; while the horse and foot of each division were promiscuously blended, rather from the result of accident, than by the direction of design. The armed chariots fronted the first line, whose centre was farther defended by the elephants. Chosen squadrons of Scythian, Bactrian, and Cappadocian cavalry advanced before either wing, prepared to bring on the action, or after it began, to attack the enemy in flank and rear.

who remain all night under arms.

The unexpected approach of Alexander within sight of his tents, prevented Darius from fortifying the wide extent of his camp; and, as he dreaded a nocturnal assault, from enemies who often veiled their designs in darkness, he commanded his men to remain all night under arms. This unusual measure, the gloomy silence, the long and anxious expectation, together with the fatigue of a restless night, discouraged the whole army, but inspired double terror into those who had witnessed the miserable disasters on the banks of the Granicus and the Issus.

Alexander's order of battle;

At day-break, Alexander disposed his troops in a manner suggested by the superior numbers and deep order of the enemy. His main body consisted

in two heavy-armed phalanxes, each amounting to above sixteen thousand men. Of these, the greater part formed into one line, behind which, he placed the heavy-armed men, reinforced by his targeteers, with orders, that when the out-spreading wings of the enemy prepared to attack the flanks and rear of his first line, the second should immediately wheel to receive them⁴³. The cavalry and light infantry were so disposed on the wings, that while one part resisted the shock of the Persians in front, another, by only facing to the right or left, might take them in flank. Skilful archers and darters were posted at proper intervals, as affording the best defence against the armed chariots, which (as Alexander well knew) must immediately become useless, whenever their conductors or horses were wounded.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.

Having thus arranged the several parts, Alexander with equal judgment led the whole in an oblique direction towards the enemy's left; a manœuvre which enabled the Macedonians to avoid contending at once with superior numbers. When his advanced battalions, notwithstanding their nearness to the enemy, still stretched towards the right, Darius also extended his left, till fearing that by continuing this movement his men should be drawn gradually off the plain, he commanded the Scythian squadrons to advance, and prevent the further extension of the hostile line. Alexander

and mode
of attack.

⁴³ Επετάξε δε και δευτεραν ταξιν ὡς εἶναι την Φαλαγγα ἀμφοισμον.
Arrian, p. 60. The Φαλαγγὲς ἀμφοισμος is explained by Ælian, as described in the text.

170 THE HISTORY OF GREECE.

C H A P. immediately detached a body of horse to oppose
 XXXVIII. them. An equestrian combat ensued, in which
 Battle of both parties were reinforced, and the Barbarians
 Gauga- finally repelled. The armed chariots then issued
 mela. forth with impetuous violence; but their appear-
 Olymp. ance only was formidable; for the precautions
 cxii. 2. taken by Alexander, rendered their assault harm-
 A. C. 331. less. Darius next moved his main body, but with
 October. so little order, that the horse, mixed with the in-
 fantry, advanced, and left a vacuity in the line,
 which his generals wanted time or vigilance to
 supply. Alexander seized the decisive moment,
 and penetrated into the void with a wedge of
 squadrons. He was followed by the nearest sec-
 tions of the phalanx, who rushed forward with
 loud shouts, as if they had already pursued the
 enemy. In this part of the field, the victory was
 not long doubtful; after a feeble resistance, the
 Barbarians gave way; and the pusillanimous
 Darius was foremost in the flight⁴⁴.

The battle, however, was not yet decided.
 The more remote divisions of the phalanx, upon
 receiving intelligence that the left wing, com-
 manded by Parmenio, was in danger, had not im-
 mediately followed Alexander. A vacant space
 was thus left in the Macedonian line, through
 which some squadrons of Persian and Indian horse
 penetrated with celerity, and advanced to the hostile
 camp⁴⁵. It was then that Alexander derived signal

⁴⁴ ΕΦΟΥΓΕ ΕΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΙΣ ΑΙΣΧΡΩΣ. "He fled shamefully among
 the foremost." Arrian, p. 69.

⁴⁵ The words of Arrian are, ΑΛΛ' ΕΠΙΣΗΣΑΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΦΑΛΑΓΓΑ
 (viz. the sections on the left), ΗΓΧΩΝΙΖΟΝΤΟ, ΟΤΕ ΤΟ ΕΥΩΝΥΜΟΝ

and well-earned advantages from his judicious C H A P.
 order of battle. The heavy-armed troops and tar- XXXVIII.
 geteers, which he had skilfully posted behind the
 phalanx, speedily faced about, advanced with a
 rapid step, and attacked the Barbarian cavalry,
 already entangled among the baggage. The enemy,
 thus surpris'd, were destroyed, or put to flight.
 Meanwhile, the danger of his left wing recalled
 Alexander from the pursuit of Darius. In ad-
 vancing against the enemy's right, he was met by
 the Parthian, Indian, and Persian horse, who

πονείσθαι ηγνελλετο. Και ταυτη παραρραγεισης αυτοις της ταξεως,
 κατα το διςχον, διεκπαιετι των τε Ινδων τινες, και της Περσικης ιππης,
 ως επι τα σκευοφορα των Μακεδονων, etc. The learned Guil-
 chardt's commentary is ingenious, but scarcely warranted by
 the text. " Les sections de la droite de la phalange ayant
 donné en même temps que les Peltastes, les autres sections, qui
 étoient par l'oblique plus ou moins en arrière, tacherent aussi de
 marcher en avant, et de charger l'ennemi. Mais les troupes de
 la droite des Perses, voyant le fort du combat au centre, se
 presserent toutes vers cet endroit de la ligne, en se poussant mu-
 tuellement, et la foule embarrassâ tellement les soldats de la
 phalange, qu'il leur fut alors impossible de s'avancer. Sur ces
 entrefaites, Alexandre, pour se faire jour, se jeta sur les der-
 rieres de ses ennemis. En même temps la nouvelle de la fuite de
 Darius, et de la deroute de toute sa gauche s'étant repandue, la
 consternation devint générale. L'effet en fut singulier; les Perses se
 voyant coupés, dans leur retraite, par les escadrons d'Alexandre
 qu'ils avoient à dos, chercherent à se sauver, même à travers la
 phalange. Ils se jetterent à corps perdu sur elle. Quoique de vingt
 quatre de hauteur, elle ne put resister au poids de cette masse.
 Sa gauche étant alors plus chargée que sa droite, les sections
 de celle-ci poussèrent en avant, et n'observerent pas que, depuis
 la troisième section, la gauche restoit en arrière. Il en resulta
 que la phalange se separa, que sa droite s'avança à la poursuite
 de l'ennemi, et que des corps nombreux de cavalerie et d'in-
 fanterie, qui avoient été au centre Persan, entrèrent tout-à-coup
 par la crevasse, et poussèrent jusques derriere la ligne des Macé-
 doniens." See Mémoires Militaires, c. xv. p. 221.

C H A P. maintained a sharp conflict. Sixty of the *Com-*
XXXVIII. *panions* fell; Hephæstion, Cœnus, and Menidas,
 were wounded. Having at length dissipated this
 cloud of cavalry, Alexander prepared to attack the
 foot in that wing. But the business was already
 effected, chiefly by the Thessalian horse; and no-
 thing remained to be done, but to pursue the
 fugitives, and to render the victory as decisive as
 possible⁴⁶.

Conse-
 quences of
 the victory.

According to the least extravagant accounts,
 with the loss of five hundred men, he destroyed
 forty thousand of the Barbarians⁴⁷, who never

⁴⁶ Soldiers, better acquainted with the practice than with the
 theory of their art, have often testified a just surprise, that the
 battles of the ancients should be described with an order, perspi-
 cuity, and circumstantial minuteness, which are not to be found in
 the military writers of modern times. Scholars have endea-
 voured to explain this difference, by observing the immense dis-
 proportion, in point of dignity and abilities, between the military
 historians of modern Europe, and those of Greece and Rome.
 But the difficulty will be better solved, by reflecting on the
 changes introduced into the art of war by the change of arms;
 which, in military operations, form the pivot on which the
 whole turns. 1. From the nature of fire-arms, modern battles
 are involved in smoke and confusion. 2. From the same cause,
 modern armies occupy a much greater extent of ground, and
 begin to act at much greater distances; which renders it more
 difficult to observe and ascertain their manœuvres. 3. The im-
 mense train of artillery, ammunition, etc. required in the prac-
 tice of modern war, gives a certain immobility to our armies,
 which renders it impossible to perform, without great danger,
 those rapid evolutions in fight of an enemy, which so often
 decided the battle of the ancients. With us, almost every thing
 depends on the judicious choice of ground, a matter requiring
 great military genius, but not admitting the embellishments of
 historical description.

⁴⁷ In the battles of the Greeks and Romans, the extraordinary
 disproportion between the numbers slain on the side of the

thenceforth assembled in sufficient numbers to dispute his dominion in the East. The invaluable provinces of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persis, with their respective capitals of Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis⁴⁸, formed the prize of his skill and valor. Alexander had not yet attained the summit of his fortune, but he had already reached the height of his renown⁴⁹. The burning of the royal palace of Persepolis⁵⁰, to retaliate the ravages

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victors and of the vanquished, necessarily resulted from the nature of their arms. Their principal weapons being not missile, but manual, armies could not begin to act till they had approached so nearly to each other, that the conquered found themselves cut off from all possibility of retreat. In modern times, the use of fire-arms (which often renders the action itself more bloody) furnishes the defeated party with various means of retreating with considerable safety. The sphere of military action is so widely extended in modern times, that before the victors can run over the space which separates them from the vanquished, the latter may fall back, and proceed with little loss beyond their reach; and should any village, hedge, ravine, &c. be found in their way, may often check the ardor of the pursuers. Upon these considerations, the invention of gunpowder may be said to have saved the effusion of human blood. Equestrian engagements (since the principles on which cavalry act remain nearly the same in every age) are still distinguished by similar circumstances to those which appear so extraordinary in the battles of antiquity.

⁴⁸ The gold and silver found in those cities amounted to thirty millions sterling; the jewels and other precious spoil, belonging to Darius, sufficed, according to Plutarch, to load twenty thousand mules, and five thousand camels. Plut. in Alexand.

⁴⁹ After the battle of Arbela, many of Alexander's actions, as will appear in the text, deserve the highest praise; but, before that period, few of them can be justly blamed.

⁵⁰ Arrian, l. iii. p. 66. Plut. in Alexand. et Strabo, l. xv. p. 502. agree with Arrian in confining the conflagration to the

C H A P. of Xerxes in Greece, afforded the first indication of
 XXXVIII. his being overcome by too much prosperity. To speak the most favorably of this transaction, an undistinguishing resentment made him forget that he destroyed his own palace, not that of his adversary.

Measures
 of Darius.

The settlement of his important and extensive conquests, and the reduction of the warlike Uxii, those independent mountaineers, who, inhabiting the western frontier of Persia, had ever defied the Persian power, restrained Alexander from urging the pursuit of Darius. After his defeat, that unfortunate prince escaped by a precipitate and obscure⁵¹ flight across the Armenian mountains into

palace. Plutarch tells us, that only a part of that edifice was consumed. Diodorus says inaccurately, *ὁ περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τόπος*, "the place around the palace;" and Curtius, l. v. c. vii. with his usual extravagance, burns the whole city of Persepolis so completely, that not a vestige of it remained. The learned author of the *Examen Critique des Historiens d'Alexandre*, is at pains to prove that Persepolis existed under the successors of Alexander, and continued to exist till the first ages of Mahometanism, when the inhabitants of Persepolis, having violated their treaty with the Mussulmen, were butchered without mercy, and their city totally demolished. See *Examen Critique*, p. 125, et seqq. Mr. D'Hancarville, however, alleges reasons for believing that there were two cities called Persepolis by the Greeks, situate at a considerable distance from each other, one of which was burnt by Alexander, and the other destroyed by the Mussulmen. See his *Supplement to his Recherches sur les Arts, etc. de la Grèce*.

⁵¹ Arrian observes, that Darius showed great judgment in his flight, having left the populous and well-frequented roads leading to Susa and Babylon, towards which he justly suspected that Alexander would march his army, and directing his course over the Armenian mountains into Media. Arrian, p. 63. Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 538. agrees with Arrian. The errors of Curtius, l. v. c. i. are too absurd to merit refutation.

Media. Being gradually joined by the scattered C H A P. XXXVIII.
remnant of his army, amounting to several thou-
sand Barbarians, and fifteen hundred Greek mer-
cenaries, he purposed to establish his court in
Media, should Alexander remain at Susa or Baby-
lon⁵²; but in case he were still pursued by the
conqueror, his resolution was to proceed eastward,
through Parthia and Hyrcania, into the valuable
province of Bactria, laying waste the intermediate
country, that he might thus interpose a desert be-
tween himself and the Macedonians. In this de-
sign, he dispatched to the Caspian Gates the wag-
gons conveying his women, and such instruments
of convenience or luxury as still softened his mis-
fortunes; and remained in person at Ecbatana with
his army. Alexander, when apprized of these
measures, hastened into Media. In his way he
subdued the Paritacæ; and having reached within
three days march of the Median capital, was met
by Bisthanes, the son of Ochus, Darius's predeces-
sor⁵³. This prince informed him, that Darius
had fled from thence five days before, attended
by three thousand horsemen, and six thousand foot.

⁵² The foundation of this hope was, that a revolt might break out in the Macedonian army; since the more and the richer provinces Alexander acquired, his lieutenants would have the greater temptation to aspire at independence. Subsequent events will justify the reasonable expectation of Darius, which was on this occasion disappointed.

⁵³ Arrian, p. 66. speaks as if Ochus had been Darius's immediate predecessor, neglecting the short reign of Arces, the son of Ochus, who was poisoned soon after his father by the eunuch Bagoas. Diodor. xvii. 5. Ælian. Var. Hist. vi. 8.

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Alexander
pursues
Darius;

Animated by this intelligence, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana, in which place he left his treasures, and posted a strong garrison. In this city he likewise dismissed the Thessalian cavalry, and several auxiliary squadrons; paying them, besides their arrears, a gratuity of two thousand talents. Such as preferred the glory of accompanying his standard to the joy of revisiting their respective countries, were allowed again to enlist; a permission which many embraced. A strong detachment under Parmenio was sent into Hyrcania; Cænus, who had been left sick at Susa, was commanded to march with all convenient speed into Parthia; while the king, with a well-appointed army, advanced with incredible expedition⁵⁴ in pursuit of Darius. Having passed the Caspian Straits, he was met by Bagistanes, a Babylonian of distinction, who acquainted him that Bessus, governor of Bactria, in conjunction with Nabarzanes, an officer in Darius's cavalry, and Barzaentes, satrap of the barbarous Drangæ and Arachoti, had thrown aside all respect for a prince, who was no longer an object of fear. Upon this intelligence, Alexander declared expedition to be more necessary than ever. Having, therefore, left the heavy-armed troops and baggage under the command of Craterus, he hastened forward with a few select bands, encumbered only with their arms, and two days provisions.

⁵⁴ His marches were thirty-eight and forty miles a day; sometimes more. Xenophon's expedition of Cyrus, and Arrian's expedition of Alexander, mutually illustrate and confirm each other.

In that space of time, he reached the camp from which Bagistanes had deserted; and finding some parties of the enemy there, learned that Darius, being seized and bound, was actually carried prisoner in his chariot; that Bessus, in whose province this treason had been committed, had assumed the imperial honors; that all the Barbarians (Artabazus only and his sons excepted) already acknowledged the usurper; that the Greek mercenaries preserved their fidelity inviolate; but finding themselves unable to prevent the flagitious scenes that were transacting, had quitted the public road, and retired to the mountains, disdaining not only to participate in the designs, but even to share the same camp with the traitors. Alexander farther learned, that should he pursue Bessus and his associates, it was their intention to make peace with him by delivering up Darius; but should he cease from the pursuit, that they had determined to collect forces, and to divide the eastern provinces of the empire.

Having received this information, Alexander marched all night, and next day till noon, with the utmost speed, but without overtaking the enemy. He therefore dismounted five hundred of his cavalry, placed the bravest of his foot, completely armed, on horseback; and commanding Attalus and Nicanor to pursue the great road which Bessus had followed, advanced in person with his chosen band by a nearer way, which was almost desert, and entirely destitute of water. The natives of the country were his guides. From the close of the

C H A P.
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who is
treacher-
ously
slain.
Olymp.
cxii. 3.
A. C. 330.

C H A P. evening till day-break he had rode near fifty miles,
 XXXVIII. when he first discovered the enemy flying in disorder, and unarmed. Probably to facilitate their own escape, Satibarzanes and Barzaentes stabbed Darius, and then rode away with Bessus, accompanied by six hundred horse. Notwithstanding the celerity of Alexander, the unhappy Darius expired before the conqueror beheld him⁵⁵. Darius was the last king of the house of Hystaspes, and the tenth in succession to the monarchy of Cyrus. That he was neither brave nor prudent, his conduct sufficiently evinces; but the uninterrupted chain of his calamities would have prevented him (had he been otherwise inclined) from imitating the injustice and cruelty of too many of his predecessors⁵⁶.

Alexander
 pursues
 the murderers of
 Darius.

In this important stage of his fortune, Alexander displayed tender sympathy with affliction, warm esteem of fidelity, and just hatred of treason. He

⁵⁵ Such is the simple narration of Arrian. The fictions related by Plutarch in *Alexand. et Curtius*, l. v. c. xii. et *Justin.* l. xi. c. xv. are inconsistent with each other, and all of them betray the desire to contrast the exaltation and depression of the fortune of Darius. "He was chained," says Curtius, "with golden fetters; but laid in a dirty cart, covered with raw hides." His harangue in praise of Alexander would be moral and affecting, were it not totally improbable.

⁵⁶ Arrian makes this judicious observation, which proves the futility of the Oriental traditions representing Darius as a monster of tyranny and cruelty. See D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orientale*, art. Darab. p. 285. Should the fashionable scepticism of the times hesitate between these authorities, the reader has only to ask, what Oriental historian has related the transactions of Darius with the fulness and accuracy so conspicuous in Arrian?

gave orders, that the body of Darius should be transported to Persia, and interred in the royal mausoleum. The children of the deceased prince were uniformly treated with those distinctions which belonged to their birth; and Barciné⁵⁷, his eldest daughter, was finally espoused by Alexander. The pardon of the Greek mercenaries, who were admitted into the Macedonian service, and the honorable reception of Artabazus and his sons, well became the character of a prince, who could discern and reward the merit of his enemies. Alexander then pursued the murderers of Darius through the inhospitable territories of the Arii and Zangæi, and in two days accomplished a journey of six hundred furlongs. Having received the submission of Aornos⁵⁸ and Bactra, he passed the deep and rapid Oxus, and learned, on the eastern banks of this river, that Bessus, who had betrayed his master, had been betrayed in his turn by Spitamenes. The former was surprised by the Macedonians, and treated with a barbarity⁵⁹ better merited by his own crimes, than becoming the character of Alexander.

Spitamenes succeeded to his ambition and danger. In pursuit of this daring rebel, the resentment of Alexander hurried him through the vast

CHAP.
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The Bactrian and Scythian war.

⁵⁷ Called by some writers Statira.

⁵⁸ We shall meet with another place of this name, between the Suastus and the Indus.

⁵⁹ He was stripped naked, whipped, shamefully mutilated, etc. Arrian arraigns those cruelties, as unworthy of the Grecian character: but he warmly approves the punishing of Bessus, and the other murderers of Darius.

C H A P. but undescribed ⁶⁰ provinces of Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, and other less considerable divisions of the southern region of Tartary. The more northern and independent tribes of that immense country, whose pastoral life formed an admirable preparation for war, ventured to take arms against a conqueror who hovered on the frontier of their plains, and whose camp tempted them with the prospect of a rich plunder. The policy of Spitamenes inflamed their courage, and animated their hopes. These rude nations, and this obscure leader, proved the most dangerous enemies with whom Alexander ever had to contend. Sometimes they faced him in the field, and after obstinately resisting, retreated skilfully. Though never vanquished, Alexander obtained many dear-bought victories. The Scythians, on several occasions, surprised his advanced parties, and interrupted his convoys. The abruptness of their attack was only equalled by the celerity of their retreat; their numbers, their courage, and their stratagems, all rendered them formidable ⁶¹. But the enlightened intrepidity, and

⁶⁰ The erroneous geography of the ancients is laboriously compared with subsequent discoveries, in the learned work entitled *Examen des Anciens Historiens d'Alexandre*; and may be seen at one glance, by comparing the maps, usually prefixed to *Quintus Curtius*, with the admirable maps of D'Anville.

⁶¹ In one action, Arrian tells us, that only forty Macedonian horsemen, and three hundred foot, escaped. Arrian, l. iv. Curtius mentions another, after which it was made death to divulge the number of the slain. Curtius, l. vii. c. vii. Alexander was not present in either of these engagements; but in a third battle, related by Arrian, the Macedonians were at first repelled, many of them wounded, and the king struck with an arrow, which broke the fibula, or lesser bone of his leg. The Macedonians, however, rallied, and totally defeated the enemy. Arrian, l. iii. sub fin.

inimitable discipline of the Greeks and Macedonians, C H A P. finally prevailed over Barbarian craft, and desultory XXXVIII. fury. Not contented with repelling his enemies, Alexander crossed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians ⁶² on the northern bank of that river. This victory was sufficient for his renown; and the urgency of his affairs soon recalled him from an inhospitable desert.

The provinces between the Caspian and the Jaxartes twice rebelled, and twice were reduced to Alexander finally reduces the

⁶² Before Alexander passed the Jaxartes, he received an embassy probably from the *Abian* Scythians. Their oration, omitted by all the Greek writers, is preserved in Curtius, l. vii. c. viii. It is remarkable for the bold elevated style, in which these Barbarians display their own advantages, and describe the destructive ambition of the invader. In both respects, it agrees with the admirable harangue of the Caledonian chieftain Galgacus, in Tacitus's Life of Agricola. But the glowing sentiments of those independent and high-minded nations are invigorated by the brevity of Tacitus, and weakened by the diffusiveness of Curtius. Both orations abound in metaphors. "Great trees," say the Scythians to Alexander, "require long time to grow: the labor of a few hours levels them with the ground. Take care, lest, in climbing to the top, you should fall with the branches which you have seized. Grasp Fortune with both your hands; she is slippery, and cannot be confined. Our countrymen describe her without feet, with hands only, and wings. Those to whom she stretches out her hand, she allows not to touch her wings. Rein your prosperity, that you may more easily manage it. Our poverty will be swifter than your army loaded with spoil. We range the plain and the forest; we disdain to serve, and desire not to command." The figurative style of the Scythians is sufficiently consonant to the manners of barbarous nations. See *Principj di Scienza nuova*, vol. i. p. 156, et seqq. See likewise Chapters fifth and sixth of the present History. Le Clerc, therefore, speaks with equal ignorance and severity when, in arraigning the fidelity of Curtius, he says, "Scythæ ipsi, omnium literarum rudes, rhetorico calamistro inusti, in medium prodeunt." *Judic. Curt.* p. 326.

C H A P. submission. The Barbarians fighting singly were
 XXXVIII. successively subdued, their bravest troops were
 provinces gradually intermixed in the Macedonian ranks;
 between and Alexander, thus continually reinforced by new
 the Caspian numbers, was enabled to overawe those extensive
 and the countries, by dividing his army into five formi-
 Jaxartes. dable brigades, commanded by Hephæstion, Pto-
 Olymp. lemy, Perdiccas, Cænus⁶³, and himself. Near
 cxiii. 2. Gabæ, a fortress of Sogdiana, Cænus attacked and
 A. C. 327. defeated Spitamenes. The Sogdians and Bac-
 trians deserted their unfortunate general, and sur-
 rendered their arms to the conqueror. The Mas-
 sagetæ and other Scythians, having plundered the
 camp of their allies, fled with Spitamenes to the
 desert; but being apprized, that the Macedonians
 prepared to pursue them, they slew this active and
 daring chief, whose courage deserved a better fate;
 and in hopes of making their own peace, sent his
 head to the conqueror.

Siege of
 the Sog-
 dian fort-
 res;
 Olymp.
 cxiii. 2.
 A. C. 327.

After the death of Spitamenes, the enemy feebly
 resisted Alexander in the open country; but in the
 provinces of Sogdiana and Parætacene, two im-
 portant fortresses, long deemed impregnable, still
 bade defiance to the invader. Into the former,
 Oxyartes the Bactrian, who headed the rebellion
 (for so the Macedonians termed the brave defence
 of the Bactrians), had placed his wife and children.
 The rock was steep, rugged, almost inaccessible,
 and provided with corn for a long siege. The deep

⁶³ Artabazus, the faithful attendant of Darius, and afterwards
 the friend of Alexander, was joined in the command with Cænus.
 Arrian.

snow, by which it was surrounded, increased the
 difficulty of assaulting it, and supplied the garrison
 with water. Alexander, having summoned the Bac-
 trians to surrender, was asked in derision, Whether
 he had furnished himself with winged soldiers?
 This insolence piqued his pride; and he deter-
 mined to make himself master of the place, with
 whatever difficulties and dangers his undertaking
 might be attended. This resolution was conso-
 nant to his character. His success in arms, owing
 to the resources of his active and comprehensive
 mind, sometimes encouraged him to enterprises,
 neither justified by necessity, nor warranted by pru-
 dence. Fond of war, not only as an instrument of
 ambition, but as an art in which he gloried to ex-
 cel, he began to regard the means as more valu-
 able than the end, and sacrificed the lives of his
 men to military experiments, alike hazardous and
 useless: yet, on the present occasion, sound po-
 licy seems to have directed his measures. Having
 determined soon to depart from those provinces, he
 might judge it imprudent to leave an enemy be-
 hind: it might seem necessary to destroy the seeds
 of future rebellion; and, by exploits unexampled
 and almost incredible, to impress such terror of his
 name, as would astonish and overawe his most dis-
 tant and warlike dependences.

Alexander carefully examined the Sogdian fort-
 refs, and proposed a reward of twelve talents⁶⁴ to
 the man who should first mount the top of the rock

which is
 taken by a
 contriv-
 ance
 equally

⁶⁴ Above L 2000, equal in value to near L 20,000 in the pre-
 sent age.

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ingenious
and dar-
ing.

on which it was situated. The second and third were to be proportionably rewarded, and even the last of ten was to be gratified with the sum of three hundred darics. The hopes of this recompence, which, in the conception of the Greeks and Macedonians, was equally honorable and lucrative, stimulated the love of adventure, so conspicuous in both nations. Three hundred men, carefully selected from the whole army, were furnished with ropes made of the strongest flax, and with iron pins used in pitching tents. They were likewise provided with small pieces of linen, which, being joined together, might serve as a signal. Thus equipped, they proceeded at the close of evening towards the most abrupt side of the rock, and therefore the most likely to be unguarded. By driving the iron pins into congealed snow, and then fastening to them the ropes, they gradually hoisted themselves up the mountain. In this extraordinary enterprise, thirty men perished, whose bodies were so profoundly buried in the snow, that, notwithstanding the most diligent search, they could never afterwards be recovered. By this simple contrivance, those daring adventurers gained the summit of the rock, which overlooked the fortress; and waving their signal in the morning, were discovered by Alexander. At this joyous sight, he summoned the besieged to surrender to his winged soldiers. The Barbarians beheld and trembled; terror multiplied the number of their enemies, and represented them as completely

armed; Alexander was invited to take possession of the fortrefs⁶⁵.

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This obscure and even nameless castle contained Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, and deemed, next to the spouse of Darius, the greatest beauty in the East. Alexander admired her form and her accomplishments; but even in the fervor of youth, and the intoxication of prosperity, his generous mind disdained the cruel rights of a conqueror, as justified by the maxims and example of his age and country. With a moderation and self-command, worthy the scholar of Aristotle, he declined the embraces of his captive, till his condescending affection raised her to the throne, chusing rather to offend the prejudices of the Macedonians, than to transgress the laws of humanity⁶⁶.

Alexander's generous treatment of Roxana.

In Bactria, Alexander learned that the Parætacæ were in arms, and that many of his most dangerous enemies had shut themselves up in the fortrefs or rock of Choriènes. Upon this intelligence, he hastened to the Parætacene. The height of the rock, which was everywhere steep and craggy, he found to be near three miles, and its circumference above seven. It was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, at such distance from the base as placed the garrison beyond the reach of missile weapons. Alexander gave orders that the fir-trees, of extraordinary height, which surrounded the mountain, should be cut down, and formed into ladders, by means of which, his men descending

The fortrefs of Choriènes surrenders. Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

⁶⁵ Arrian, p. 91, et seqq.

⁶⁶ Id. *ibid.*

C H A P. the ditch, drove huge piles into the bottom.
 XXXVIII. These, being placed at proper distances, were covered with hurdles of osier consolidated with earth. In this occupation his whole army were employed by turns, night and day. The Barbarians at first derided this seemingly useless labor. But their insults were soon answered by Macedonian arrows. By these, and other missile weapons, the Macedonians, who were carefully protected by their coverings, so much annoyed the besieged, that the latter became desirous to capitulate. For this purpose, Choriene, from whom the place derived its name, desired to converse with Oxyartes the Bactrian, who, since the taking of his wife and children, had submitted to Alexander. His request being granted, Oxyartes strongly exhorted him to surrender his fortrefs and himself, assuring him of Alexander's goodness, of which his own treatment furnished an eminent example, and declaring that no place was impregnable to such troops and such a general. Choriene prudently followed this advice; and, by his speedy submission, not only obtained pardon, but gained the friendship of Alexander, who again intrusted him with the command of his fortrefs, and the government of his province. The vast magazines of corn, meat, and wine, collected by the Parætacæ for a long siege, afforded a seasonable supply to the Macedonian army, especially during the severity of winter, in a country covered with snow many feet deep⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ Arrian, p. 92.

By such memorable, achievements, Alexander subdued the nations between the Caspian sea, the river Jaxartes, and the lofty chain of mountains, which supply the sources of the Indus and the Ganges. In the conduct of this remote and dangerous war, the great abilities of the general were conspicuously distinguished. His example taught the troops to despise hunger, fatigue, cold, and danger; neither rugged mountains, nor deep and rapid rivers, nor wounds, nor sickness, could interrupt his progress, or abate his activity: his courage exposed him to difficulties, from which he was extricated by new efforts of courage, which, in any other commander, would have passed for temerity. Amidst the hardships of a military life, obstinate sieges, bloody battles, and dear-bought victories, he still respected the rights of mankind, and practised the mild virtues of humanity. The conquered nations enjoyed their ancient laws and privileges; the rigors of despotism were softened; arts and industry encouraged; and the proudest Macedonian governors compelled, by the authority and example of Alexander, to observe the rules of justice towards their meanest subjects⁶⁸. To bridle the fierce inhabitants of the Scythian plains, he founded cities, and established colonies on the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus; and those destructive campaigns, usually ascribed to his restless activity and blind ambition, appeared to the discernment of this extraordinary man, not only

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XXXVIII.

The virtues displayed by Alexander in making and regulating his conquests.

⁶⁸ Plutarch, Arrian, et Curtius, passim.

C H A P. essential to the security of the conquests which he
XXXVIII. had already made, but necessary preparations for more remote and splendid expeditions which he still purposed to undertake; and which, as will appear in the succeeding chapter, he performed with singular boldness and unexampled success.

Commo-
 tions in
 Greece
 checked
 by Anti-
 pater.
 Olymp.
 cxii. 3.
 A. C. 330.

During the three first years that the invincible heroism of Alexander triumphed in the East, the firm vigilance of Antipater repressed rebellion in Greece. But the attention of that general being diverted, by a revolt in Thrace, from the affairs of the southern provinces, the Lacedæmonians, instigated by the warlike ambition of their king Agis, ventured to exert that hostility against Macedon which they had long felt and expressed. Reinforced by some communities of the Peloponnese, which imprudently listened to their counsels, the allied army amounted to twenty-two thousand men. Antipater, having checked the insurrection in Thrace, hastened into the Grecian peninsula with a superior force, and defeated the confederates in a battle, which proved fatal to king Agis, and three thousand Peloponnesian troops. The vanquished were allowed to send ambassadors to implore the clemency of Alexander. From that generous prince, the rebellious republics received promise of pardon, on condition that they punished with due severity the authors of an unprovoked and ill-judged revolt⁶⁹.

Tranquil-
 lity of that
 country

From this period, till the death of Alexander, Greece enjoyed, above eight years, an unusual

⁶⁹ Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 537. Curtius, l. vi. c. i.

degree of tranquillity and happiness. The suspicious and severe temper of Antipater was restrained by the commands of his master, who, provided the several republics sent him their appointed contingents of men to reinforce his armies, was unwilling to exact from them any farther mark of submission. Under the protection of this indulgent sovereign, to the glory of whose conquests they were associated, the Greeks still preserved the forms, and displayed the image, of that free constitution of government, whose spirit had animated their ancestors.

While Alexander pursued the murderers of Darius, Athens was crowded with spectators from the neighbouring republics, to behold that intellectual conflict between Æschines and Demosthenes, whose rivalry in power and fame had long divided the affections of their countrymen. In consequence of a decree proposed by Ctesiphon, Demosthenes, as above mentioned, had been honored with a golden crown, as the reward of his political merit. His adversary had, even before the death of Philip, denounced the author of this decree as a violator of the laws of his country.

1. Because he had decreed public honors to a man actually intrusted with the public money, and who had not yet passed his accounts.
2. Because, contrary to law, he had advised, that the crown conferred on Demosthenes, should be proclaimed in the theatre.
3. Because the boasted services of Demosthenes had ended in public disgrace and ruin; and that, instead of being rewarded with a

C H A P.

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during the subsequent years of Alexander's reign.

Ctesiphon accused by Æschines, and defended by Demosthenes.

Olymp.

cxii. 3.

A. C. 330.

C H A P. crown, he ought to be punished as a traitor. VARIOUS circumstances, which it is now impossible to explain, prevented this important cause from being heard by the Athenians, till the sixth year of the reign of Alexander. The triumph of the Macedonians seemed to promise every advantage to Æschines, who had long been the partisan of Philip, and of his magnanimous son; and who, by a stroke aimed at Ctesiphon, meant chiefly to wound Demosthenes, the avowed enemy of both.

Æschines
banished
for cal-
lumnies.

In the oration of Æschines, we find the united powers of reason and argument, combined with the most splendid eloquence. Yet the persuasive vehemence of Demosthenes prevailed in the contest. The unexampled exertions⁷⁰, by which he obtained this victory, will be admired to the latest ages of the world. To what an exalted pitch of enthusiasm must the orator have raised himself and his audience, when, to justify his advising the fatal battle of Chæronea, he exclaimed, "No, my fellow-citizens, you have not erred; No! I swear it by the manes of those heroes who fought in the same cause at Marathon and Plataea." What sublime art was required to arrive, by just degrees, at this extraordinary sentiment, which, in any other light than the inimitable blaze of eloquence with which it was surrounded, would appear altogether excessive and gigantic?

Generosity
of Demos-
thenes.

The orator not only justified Ctesiphon and himself, but procured the banishment of his adversary,

⁷⁰ See the Orat. de Coron. throughout.

as the author of a malignant and calumnious accusation. Honorable as this triumph was, Demosthenes derived more solid glory from the generous treatment of his vanquished rival. Before Æschines set sail, he carried to him a purse of money, which he kindly compelled him to accept; a generosity which made the banished man feel severely the weight of his punishment, and affectingly observe, "How deeply must I regret the loss of a country, in which enemies are more generous than friends elsewhere!" Æschines retired to the isle of Rhodes, and instituted a school of eloquence, which flourished several centuries. It is recorded, that having read to his scholars the oration which occasioned his banishment, it was received with extraordinary applause. But when this applause was redoubled on his reading the answer of Demosthenes, he was so far from testifying envy, that he exclaimed to his audience, "What would have been your admiration, had you heard the orator himself!"

Demosthenes survived Alexander, whose magnanimity disdained to punish an enemy whom he scarcely regarded as dangerous. But this illustrious Athenian patriot fell a prey to the more suspicious policy of Antipater. At the desire of that prince, he was banished Athens, and being pursued by Macedonian assassins to the little island of Calauria, he ended his life by poison⁷¹.

It may be thought, that the conqueror of the Persian empire would have little leisure, or

His death.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3.
A. C. 322.

The sentence of
the Athe.

⁷¹ Plut. in Demosthen. et Lucian. Demosthen. Entom.

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nians in
favor of
Demosthe-
nes, ho-
norable
to the mo-
deration of
Alexan-
der.

inclination, to attend to a personal dispute between two Athenian orators: and that neither the impeachment nor the defence of Demosthenes could affect his pride or his interest. It deserves to be considered, however, that this orator was the inveterate, and long the successful, opponent of the greatness of his family; and in the beginning of his own reign, had attempted, with more courage, indeed, than prudence, to overturn the yet unconsolidated pillar of his fortune. But whatever indifference Alexander, who was carefully informed of the transactions of Greece, might testify amidst the honors of Demosthenes, it cannot be believed that he heard with total unconcern the sentence of the Athenian people; a sentence which reversed the decision of fortune, and arraigned the cruel and melancholy triumph of Philip over the liberties of Greece. That he never repented the indignity, is a proof of his moderation; and that the Athenians could venture on a measure so offensive, is a proof of the freedom and security which they enjoyed under the Macedonian government.

State of
Greece dur-
ing the
latter years
of the
reign of
Alexan-
der.

Deprived indeed of the honor, but also delivered from the cares, of independent sovereignty, and undisturbed by those continual and often bloody dissensions, which deform the annals of their tumultuous liberty, the Greeks indulged their natural propensity to the social embellishments of life; a propensity by which they were honorably distinguished above all other nations of antiquity. Their innumerable shows, festivals, and dramatic entertainments, were exhibited with more pomp than at

any

any former period. The schools of philosophers and rhetoricians were frequented by all descriptions of men. Painting and statuary were cultivated with equal ardor and success. Many improvements were made in the sciences ; and, as will appear more fully hereafter, the Greeks, and the Athenians in particular, still rivalled the taste and genius, though not the spirit and virtue, of their ancestors. Yet even in this degenerate state, when patriotism and true valor were extinct, and those vanquished republicans had neither liberties to love, nor country to defend, their martial honors were revived and brightened by an association with the renown of their conqueror. Under Alexander, their exploits, though directed to very different purposes, equalled, perhaps excelled, the boasted trophies of Marathon and Plataea. By a singularity peculiar to their fortune, the æra of their political disgrace coincides with the most splendid period of their military glory. Alexander was himself a Greek ; his kingdom had been founded by a Grecian colony ; and, to revenge the wrongs of his nation, he undertook and accomplished the most extraordinary enterprises recorded in the history of the world.

C H A P.
XXXVIII.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Alexander's Indian Expedition. — Route pursued by the Army. — Aornos taken. — Nysa and Mount Meros. — Alexander passes the Indus and Hydaspes. — Defeats Porus. — Founds Nicæa and Bucephalia. — Passes the Acesines and Hydraotes. — Sangala taken. — Eastern Boundary of Alexander's Conquests. — He sails down the Hydaspes. — Takes the Mallian Fortrefs. — His March through the Gedrosian Desert. — Voyage of Nearchus. — Alexander improves the internal State of his Conquests. — Incorporates the Barbarian Levies with the Greeks and Macedonians. — Intermarriages of the Europeans and Asiatics. — Artifices to prevent Alexander's Return to Babylon. — His Death, and Character. — Division of his Conquests — Subsequent History of Egypt and Syria. — The Western Division of Alexander's Empire conquered by the Romans. — State of Greece after the Age of Alexander.

C H A P. **B**Y just views of policy, rather than the madness of ambition, Alexander was carried to the rugged banks of the Oxus and the Iaxartes. The fierce nations of those inhospitable regions had, in ancient times, repeatedly over-run the more wealthy and more civilized provinces of Asia. Without diffusing through the Scythian plains the terror of his name, the conqueror would not have

XXXIX.

Alexander undertakes his Indian expedition, Olymp. cxiii. 2. A. C. 327.

securely enjoyed the splendor of Susa and Babylon; nor without the assistance of numerous and warlike levies, raised in those barbarous countries, could he have prudently undertaken his Indian expedition. For this remote and dangerous enterprise, he prepared early in the spring; Amyntas being appointed governor of Bactria, and intrusted with a sufficient strength to overawe the surrounding provinces.

With all the remainder of his forces, Alexander hastened southwards, and in ten days march traversed the Paropamisus, a link of that immense chain of mountains, reaching from the coast of Cilicia to the sea of China. This southern belt, distinguished in different portions of its length by the various names of Taurus, Paropamisus, Imaus, and Edmodus, the Greeks confounded¹ with the northern chain, of which Scythian Caucasus is a part, and whose remote branches extend from the shores of the Euxine to the eastern extremity of Tartary. Such is the strong frame which supports the ponderous mass of Asia. The intermediate space, especially towards the central country of Bukaria, is far more elevated than any other portion of the Eastern continent; and the towering heights of Paropamisus had hitherto defended (if we except the obscure expedition of Darius) the feeble majesty of India against the ravagers of the earth. The difficulties of this celebrated journey have,

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Traverses
the Paro-
pamisus.

¹ The errors of Diodorus. l. xvii. p. 553. and of Curtius, l. vii. c. iii. are avoided by Arrian, l. v. p. 103. and by Strabo, l. xv. p. 724.

perhaps, been rather exaggerated than described, by the historians of Alexander. Yet our indulgence may pardon the fanciful² expressions of antiquity, when we read in the work of a modern writer of acknowledged veracity, "Those mountains are covered with ice; the cold which I suffered was extreme; the country presents a melancholy image of death and horror".

Difficulty
of pene-
trating in-
to India by
land,

But the rugged nature of the country was not the only difficulty with which the Macedonians had to struggle. The northern regions of India were inhabited in ancient, as they are still in modern times, by men of superior strength and courage³; and the vigorous resistance made by the natives of those parts, rendered it as difficult for Alexander to penetrate into the Indian peninsula by land, as it has always been found easy by the maritime powers of Europe, to invade and subdue the unwarlike inhabitants of its coasts.

Route pur-
sued by
Alex-
ander.

The experienced leader seems to have conducted his army by the route of Candahar, well known to the caravans of Agra and Ispahan. Having reached the banks of the Cophenes, he divided his forces; the greater part he retained under his immediate command; the remainder were detached, under Hephæstion and Perdikkas, to clear the road to the Indus, and to make all necessary preparations for crossing that river. After many severe conflicts,

² Curtius, l. vii. c. iii.

³ See "le Voyage du Pere Desideri." It was performed in the year 1715. Lettres Edifiantes, xv. 185.

⁴ Arrian, p. 97, et seqq.

he subdued the Aspîi, Thyræi, Arasaci, and Af- C H A P.
faceni; scoured the banks of the Choas and Co- XXXIX.
phenes; expelled the Barbarians from their fast-
nesses; and drove them towards the northern
mountains, which supply the sources of the Oxus
and the Indus.

Near the western margin of the latter, one place,
defended by the Baziri, still defied his assaults.
This place, called by the Greeks Aornos, afforded
refuge not only to the Baziri, but to the most war-
like of their neighbours, after their other strong-
holds had surrendered. From its description, it
appears to have been admirably adapted to the
purpose of a long and vigorous defence. Mount
Aornos was two hundred furlongs in circuit; eleven
in height, where lowest; accessible by only one
dangerous path cut in the rock by art; containing,
near the top, a plentiful spring of water, a thick
and lofty wood, together with a sufficient quantity
of arable land to employ the labor of a thousand
men. An emulation of glory prompted Alexander
to make himself master of a place, which fable
described as impregnable to the greatest heroes of
antiquity⁵. By the voluntary assistance and direc-
tion of some neighbouring tribes, hostile to the
Baziri, Ptolemy ascended part of the rock

Aornos
taken.

⁵ Arrian, p. 98. who supplies the particulars in the text, says,
that he knows not whether it was the Grecian, Tyrian, or
Egyptian Hercules, who laid siege unsuccessfully to Aornos.
He doubts whether any of them ever penetrated to India; adding,
that the name of Hercules appears to him to have been employed,
on this occasion, as on many others, "εἰς κομπὴν τῶ λούβῃ."
"as an ostentatious fiction."

C H A P. unperceived; Alexander with his usual diligence
 XXXIX. raised a mount, erected his engines, and prepared to annoy the enemy. But, before he had an opportunity to employ the resources of his genius, by which he had taken places still stronger than Aornos, the garrison sent a herald, under pretence of surrendering on terms, but in reality with a view to spin out the negociation during the whole day, and in the night to effect their escape. Alexander, who suspected this intention, met their art with similar address. Patiently waiting till the Indians descended the mountain, he took possession of the strong-hold which they had abandoned, having previously posted a proper detachment to intercept the fugitives, and punish their perfidy.

Alexander
 marches to
 Nyfa and
 Mount
 Meros.

The Macedonians proceeded southward from Aornos, into the country between the Cophenes and the Indus. In this fertile district, the army, as it advanced towards Mount Meros and the celebrated Nyfa, was met by a deputation from the citizens of that place, which (could we believe historic flattery) had been founded in the heroic, or rather in the fabulous ages, by a Grecian colony established by Bacchus at the eastern extremity of his conquests. These wandering *Greeks*, might we indulge for a moment the supposition that the inhabitants of Nyfa were really entitled to that name, appear in this Indian soil to have degenerated from the courage, while they preserved the policy, the eloquence, and the artifices, of their European brethren. Being immediately conducted to Alexander, who had just sat down in his tent, covered

with sweat and dust, and still armed with his cask and lance, they testified great horror at his aspect, and threw themselves prostrate on the ground. The king having raised them from this humiliating posture, and addressed them with his usual condescension, they recovered sufficient boldness to entreat him to spare their country and their liberties for the sake of Bacchus their founder. In proof of this allegation, they insisted on the name Nyssa, derived from the nurse⁶ of Bacchus, and on the abundance, not only of vines and laurel, but of ivy, which grew in *their* territory, and in no other part of India. Alexander, willing to admit a pretension, which might attest to succeeding ages that he had carried his conquests still farther than Bacchus⁷,

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⁶ The respect shown by the Greeks to their nurses is well known, and is attested by the tragedians. In this respect, the modern Greeks still imitate their ancestors. The word employed to signify a nurse, properly denotes "a second mother." See Mr. Guy's Voyage Littéraire de la Grèce.

⁷ Eratosthenes the Cyrenean, and many other ancient writers, asserted, that the fictions concerning Bacchus's expedition to the East, were invented by the flatterers of Alexander. But Strabo justly observes, that the belief of that expedition long preceded the age of the son of Philip. To justify this observation, he cites the verses of Sophocles and Euripides. The latter of these poets, in the prologue to his *Bacchæ*, introduces Bacchus, saying, that he had come to Thebes, and adorned with vines the temple of Semele.

Λιπών δὲ Λυδῶν τὰς πολυχρυσὰς γυνὰς,
Φρυγῶν τε Περσῶν θ' ἡλιοβλήτας πλακάς,
Βακτρυὰ τε τείχη, τὴν τε δυσχείμον χθονὰ
Μηδῶν, ἐπελθὼν Ἀραβίαν τ' εὐδαιμονα
Ἀσίαν τε πᾶσαν, ἥ παρ' αἰλμυρὰν αἶλα
Κεῖται, μίγασιν Ἑλλήσι Βαρβάροις θ' ὅμῃ
Πληρεῖς ἐχέσθαι καλλιπυργωτῆς πόλεις.

CHAPTER XXXIX. readily granted their request. Having understood that Nyssa was governed by an aristocracy, he demanded, as hostages, a hundred of their principal citizens, and three hundred of their cavalry. This demand excited the smile of Acuphis, who headed the embassy. Alexander asked him, "At what he smiled?" He replied, "O king! you are welcome to three hundred of our horsemen, and more, should you think proper. But can you believe it possible that any city should long continue safe, after losing a hundred of its most virtuous citizens? Instead of one hundred of the best, should you be contented with two hundred of the worst, men in Nyssa, be assured that, at

"Leaving the golden fields of the Lydians, the sun-beat plains of Phrygia and Persia, the Bactrian fortresses, and the wintry storms of the Medes — having over-run happy Arabia, and the maritime provinces of Asia, crowned with fair-turreted cities, inhabited by mingled Greeks and Barbarians." Sophocles mentions Nyssa in particular. Βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νύσσαν. Vide Strabo, l. xv. p. 687. Notwithstanding such respectable authorities for the vulgar tradition, both Strabo and Arrian treat the expedition of Bacchus to India as a fable; the geographer on the following grounds: 1. Because the relations of authors on this subject are totally inconsistent. 2. Because many of the writers who accompanied Alexander are altogether silent concerning this matter. 3. Because the intermediate countries, between Greece and India, possess no monuments of this pretended expedition. Strabo, p. 688. The philosopher and historian discovers his sentiments to be the same with Strabo's, but expresses himself with more tenderness for the popular superstition, concluding, "εἰ ἀκριβῆς ἐξετάσῃν χρὴ εἶναι τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν θεῶν, ἐκ παλαιῶν μεμνησμένων;" "that the traditions of the ancients concerning the Gods ought not to be too carefully sifted." Arrian, p. 101. An observation which might have merited the attention of those who, in later times, have ventured to explain historically, or to analyze, the Grecian mythology.

your return, you will find this country in as C H A P.
flourishing a condition as when you left it." Pleased XXXIX.
with his address, Alexander remitted his demand
of the magistrates; he was accompanied by the
cavalry, and by the son and nephew of Acuphis,
who were ambitious to learn the art of war under
such an accomplished general.

The transactions which we have described, and
a march of sixteen days from the Oxus to the
Indus, allowed time for Hephæstion and Perdikkas
to make the preparations necessary for passing the
latter river, most probably by a bridge of boats*.
On the eastern bank, Alexander received the sub-
mission of the neighbouring princes. Of these,
Taxiles, who was the most considerable, brought,
besides other valuable presents, the assistance of
seven thousand Indian horse, and surrendered his
capital, Taxila, the most wealthy and populous
city between the Indus and Hydaspes. But the

Alexander
passes the
Indus, and
receives the
submission
of Taxiles.

* Arrian, p. 100 et 103. leaves it uncertain in what manner
the bridge was constructed. Neither that accurate writer, nor
the other careless describers of the exploits of Alexander,
ascertain the pass of the Indus, at which the Macedonians
crossed that river. Major Rennel, late surveyor-general of Ben-
gal, has the following observations in his excellent memoir on the
map of Indostan: "I take it for granted, that Alexander crossed
the Indus at the place where the city of Attock now stands; as
it appears to have been in all ages the pass on the Indus leading
from the countries of Cabul and Candahar into India . . . Attock
must then stand on the site of the Taxila of Alexander. From
thence, as his intention seems to have been to penetrate by the
shortest way to the Ganges, he would proceed by the ordinary
road to that part of the bank of the Hydaspes (or Behat) where
the fortress of Rotas now stands; and here he put in execution
his stratagem for crossing the river, whilst the opposite shore was
possessed by Porus." Of which more in the text.

C H A P. XXXIX. king, who never allowed himself to be outdone in generosity, restored and augmented the dominions of Taxiles.

Prepares to
pass the
Hydaspes,
notwith-
standing
the opposi-
tion of
Porus.

The army crossed the Indus about the time of the summer solstice, at which season the Indian rivers are swelled by heavy rains, as well as by the melted snow, which descends in torrents from Paropamisus. Trusting to this circumstance, Porus, a powerful and warlike prince, had encamped on the Shantrou, or Hydaspes, with thirty thousand foot, four thousand horse, three hundred armed chariots, and two hundred elephants. At an inconsiderable distance from the main body, his son commanded a detachment, consisting of the same kind of forces, which were all well accoutred, and excellently disciplined. Alexander perceived the difficulty of passing the Hydaspes in the face of this formidable host; a difficulty which must be greatly increased by the elephants, whose noise, and smell, and aspect, were alike terrible to cavalry. He therefore collected provisions on the opposite bank, and industriously gave out that he purposed to delay passing the river till a more favorable season. This artifice deluded not the Indians; and Porus kept his post. The king next had recourse to a different stratagem. Having posted his cavalry in separate detachments along the river, he commanded them to raise in the night loud shouts of war, and to fill the bank with agitation and tumult, as if they had determined at all hazards to effect their passage. The noise roused the enemy, and Porus conducted his elephants

wherever the danger threatened. This scene was repeated several successive nights; during which the Barbarians were fatigued and harassed by perpetual alarms. Porus discovering, as he fondly believed, that nothing was intended by this vain noise, but merely to disturb his repose, at length desisted from following the motions of the Macedonian cavalry, and remained quiet in his encampment, having stationed proper guards on the bank.

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The false security of Porus enabled Alexander to effect his long-meditated purpose. At the distance of about eighteen miles from his camp, and at the principal winding of the Hydaspes, there stood a lofty rock, thickly covered with trees; and near to this rock, an island, likewise over-run with wood, and uninhabited. Such objects were favorable for concealment: they immediately suggested to Alexander the design of passing the river with a strong detachment, which he resolved to command in person, as he seldom did by others what he could himself perform; and, amidst the variety of operations, always claimed for his own, the task of importance or danger. The Macedonian phalanx, the new levies from Paropamisus, together with the Indian auxiliaries, and one division of the cavalry, remained under the command of Craterus. They had orders to amuse the enemy by making fires in the night, and by preparing openly during day-time to cross the Hydaspes. While

Disposi-
tions for
that pur-
pose.

⁹ Arrian, l. p. 107, et seqq.

C H A P. these operations were carrying on by Craterus,
 XXXIX. Alexander, having collected hides and boats,
 marched up the country with a choice body of
 light infantry, the archers and Agrians, the Bac-
 trian, Scythian, and Parthian ¹⁰ cavalry, together
 with a due proportion of heavy-armed troops;
 the whole a well-assorted brigade, adapted to every
 mode of war required by the nature of the ground,
 the arms or disposition of the enemy. Having
 receded from the bank to a distance sufficiently
 remote for eluding the observation of Porus, he
 advanced towards the rock and island; and in this
 secure post prepared to embark, after taking such
 precautions against the vicissitudes of war and
 fortune, as could be suggested only by the most
 profound military genius. The orders given to
 Craterus were precise: should the Indians per-
 ceive, and endeavour to interrupt the passage to
 the rock and island, he was in that case to hasten
 over with his cavalry; otherwise not to stir from
 his post, until he observed Porus advancing against
 Alexander, or flying from the field. At an equal
 distance between the bank, where Alexander
 meant to pass, and the camp where Craterus lay,
 Attalus and Meleager were posted with a powerful
 body of mercenaries, chiefly consisting of Indian
 mountaineers, who had been defeated by the Mac-
 donians, and taken into the pay of the conqueror.
 To provide for any unforeseen accident, sentinels

¹⁰ Arrian calls them the Dahæ; they were ἱππετοξοτοί.
¹¹ archers on horseback. Arrian, l. v. p. 109.

were placed along the bank, at convenient distances, to observe and repeat signals. C H A P.

XXXIX.

The passage effected.

Fortune favored these judicious dispositions. A violent tempest concealed from the enemy's out-guards the tumult of preparation; the clash of armor and the voice of command being overpowered by the complicated crash of rain and thunder. When the storm somewhat abated, the horse and infantry, in such proportions as both the boats and hides could convey, passed over, unperceived, into the island. Alexander led the line, accompanied in his vessel of thirty oars by Seleucus, Ptolemy, Perdicas, and Lyfimachus; names destined to fill the ancient world, when their renown was no longer repressed by the irresistible diffusion of their master's glory.

The king first reached the opposite bank, in sight of the enemy's out-guards, who hastened, in trepidation, to convey the unwelcome intelligence to Porus. The Macedonians meanwhile formed in order of battle; but before meeting their enemies, they had to struggle with an unforeseen difficulty. The coast on which they landed was the shore of another island, disjoined from the continent by a river commonly fordable, but actually so much swelled by the rains of the preceding night, that the water reached the breasts of the men, and the necks of the horses. Having passed this dangerous stream with his cavalry and targeteers, Alexander advanced with all possible expedition, considering, that should Porus offer battle, these

C H A P. forces would resist till joined by the heavy infantry;
XXXIX. but should the Indians be struck with panic at his unexpected passage of the Hydaspes, the light-armed troops would thus arrive in time to attack and pursue them with advantage.

Porus's son
defeated
and slain.

Upon the first alarm given by his out-guards, Porus detached his son to oppose the landing of the enemy with two thousand horse, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots. These forces, arriving too late to defend the bank, were speedily broken and put to flight by the equestrian archers; their leader and four hundred horsemen were slain; most of the chariots were taken; the slime of the river, which rendered them unserviceable in the action, likewise interrupting their flight.

Disposi-
tions made
by Porus
for resisting
the enemy.

The sad news of this discomfiture deeply afflicted Porus; but his immediate danger allowed not time for reflection. Craterus visibly prepared to pass the river, and to attack him in front; his flanks were threatened with the shock of the Macedonian horse, elated by recent victory. In this emergency the Indian appears to have acted with equal prudence and firmness. Unable to oppose this complicated assault, he left part of the elephants under a small guard, to frighten, rather than resist, Craterus's cavalry; while, at the head of his whole army, he marched in person to meet the more formidable division of the enemy, commanded by their king. His horse amounted to four, and his foot to thirty, thousand; but the part of his strength in which he seemed most to confide, consisted of three hundred armed chariots, and

two hundred elephants. With these forces, Porus advanced, until he found a plain sufficiently dry and firm for his chariots to wheel. He then arranged his elephants at intervals of a hundred feet; in these intervals he placed his infantry, a little behind the line. By this order of battle, he expected to intimidate the enemy, since their horse, he thought, would be deterred from advancing at sight of the elephants; and their infantry, he imagined, would not venture to attack the Indians in front, while they must be themselves exposed to be attacked in flank, and trampled under foot by those terrible animals. At either extremity of the line; the elephants bore huge wooden towers, filled with armed men. The cavalry formed the wings, covered in front with the armed chariots.

Alexander by this time appeared at the head of the royal cohort and equestrian archers. Perceiving that the enemy had already prepared for battle, he commanded a halt, until the heavy-armed troops should join. This being effected, he allowed them time to rest and recover strength, carefully encircling them with the cavalry; and meanwhile examined, with his usual diligence, the disposition of the Indians. Upon observing their order of battle, he immediately determined, not to attack them in front, in order to avoid encountering the difficulties which Porus had artfully thrown in his way; and at once resolved on an operation, which, with such troops as those whom he commanded, could scarcely fail to prove

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Skilful
manœuvres
of the
Macedonian
an army.

C H A P. decisive. By intricate and skilful manœuvres, al-
XXXIX. together unintelligible to the Indians, he moved imperceptibly towards their left wing with the flower of his cavalry. The remainder, conducted by Cænus, stretched towards the right, having orders to wheel at a given distance, that they might attack the Indians in rear, should they wait to receive the shock of Alexander's squadrons. A thousand equestrian archers directed their rapid course towards the same wing; while the Macedonian foot remained firm in their posts; waiting the event of this complicated assault, which appears to have been conducted with the most precise observance of time and distance.

The battle
of the Hy-
daspes.

The Indian horse, harassed by the equestrian archers, and exposed to the danger of being surrounded, were obliged to form into two divisions, of which one prepared to resist Alexander, and the other faced about to meet Cænus. But this evolution so much disordered their ranks and dejected their courage, that they were totally unable to stand the shock of the Macedonian cavalry, which surpassed them as much in strength, as it excelled them in discipline. The fugitives took refuge, as behind a line of friendly towers, in the intervals that had been left between the elephants. These fierce animals were then conducted against the enemy's horse; which movement was no sooner observed by the infantry, than they seasonably advanced, and galled the assailants with darts and arrows. Wherever the elephants turned, the Macedonians opened their ranks, finding it dangerous

to

to resist them with a close and deep phalanx. C H A P. XXXIX.
 Meanwhile, the Indian cavalry rallied, and were repelled with greater loss than before. They again sought the same friendly retreat; but their flight was now intercepted, and themselves almost entirely surrounded, by the Macedonian horse; at the same time that the elephants, having lost their riders, enraged at being pent up within a narrow space, and furious, through their wounds, proved more formidable to friends than foes, because the Macedonians, having the advantage of an open ground, could every where give vent to their fury¹¹.

The battle was decided before the division, under Craterus, passed the river. But the arrival of these fresh troops rendered the pursuit peculiarly destructive. The unfortunate Porus lost both his sons, all his captains, twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. The elephants, spent with fatigue, were slain or taken; even the armed chariots were hacked in pieces, having proved less formidable in reality than appearance, could we believe that little more than three hundred men perished on the side of Alexander. An obvious inconsistency too often appears in the historians of that conqueror¹². With a view to enhance his merit, they describe and exaggerate the valor and resistance of his enemies;

The Indians defeated.

¹¹ Arrian, p. 112.

¹² See Arrian, p. 113. The observation applies not, however, to that historian, but rather to Ptolemy and Aristobulus, from whom he derived his materials; nor could it be expected that those generals should preserve perfect impartiality in relating the exploits of a master whom they admired.

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Courage
and mag-
nanimity
of Porus.

but, in computing the numbers of the slain, they become averse to allow this valor and resistance to have produced any adequate effects.

The Indian king having behaved with great gallantry in the engagement, was the last to leave the field. His flight being retarded by his wounds, he was overtaken by Taxiles, whom Alexander intrusted with the care of seizing him alive. But Porus, perceiving the approach of a man, who was his ancient and inveterate enemy, turned his elephant, and prepared to renew the combat. Alexander then dispatched to him Meroe, an Indian of distinction, who, he understood, had formerly lived with Porus in habits of friendship. By the entreaties of Meroe, the high-minded prince, spent with thirst and fatigue, was finally persuaded to surrender; and being refreshed with drink and repose, was conducted to the presence of the conqueror. Alexander admired his stature (for he was above seven feet high) and the majesty of his person; but he admired still more his courage and magnanimity. Having asked in what he could oblige him? Porus answered, "By acting like a king." "That," said Alexander with a smile, "I should do for my own sake, but what can I do for your's?" Porus replied, "All my wishes are contained in that one request¹³." None

Rewarded
by Alex-
ander.

¹³ The modern histories of Alexander universally misrepresent this conference. All of them, as far as I know, make Porus say, "that he desires to be treated like a king:" an explanation which cannot be reconciled with Alexander's reply, Τὸ μὲν εἶναι σοι Πῶρε ἐμὰ ἔνεκα· σὺ δὲ σάυτ' ἔνεκα ὃ, τί σοι φίλον αἶψα?

ever admired virtue more than Alexander. Struck with the firmness of Porus, he declared him re-
 instated on his throne; acknowledged him for his ally and his friend; and having soon afterwards received the submission of the Glaucæ, who possessed thirty-seven cities on his eastern frontier, the least of which contained five thousand, and many of the greatest above ten thousand inhabitants, he added this populous province to the dominions of his new confederate. Immediately after the battle, he interred the slain, performed the accustomed sacrifices, and exhibited gymnastic and equestrian games on the banks of the Hydaspes. Before leaving that river, he founded two cities, Nicæa and Bucephalia; the former was so called, to commemorate the victory gained near the place where it stood; the latter, situate on the opposite bank, was named in honor of his horse Bucephalus¹⁴, who died there, worn out by age and fatigue. A large division of the army remained under the command of Craterus, to build and fortify these new cities.

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Founda-
tion of
Ni-æa and
Bucepha-
lia.

“ I will act towards you, O Porus (as becomes a king, on my own account: but what do you desire that I should do on your's?”

¹⁴ This generous animal, who had so long shared the toils and dangers of his master, had formerly received signal marks of royal regard. Having disappeared in the country of the Uxii, Alexander issued a proclamation, commanding his horse to be restored, otherwise he would ravage the whole country with fire and sword. This command was immediately obeyed. “ So dear,” says Arrian, “ was Bucephalus to Alexander, and so terrible was Alexander to the Barbarians.” Arrian, p. 114.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

Alexander
passes the
Acesines
and Hy-
draotes.

In promoting the success of Alexander, the fame of his generosity conspired with the power of his arms. Without encountering any memorable resistance, he reduced the dominions of another prince named Porus, and the valuable country between the Acesines and the Hydraotes. In effecting this conquest, the obstacles of nature were the principal, or rather the only, enemies, with whom he had to contend. The river Acesines, fifteen furlongs broad, is deep and rapid; many parts of its channel are filled with large and sharp rocks, which, opposing the rapidity of the stream, occasion loud and foaming billows, mixed with boiling eddies and whirlpools, equally formidable, and still more dangerous. Of the Macedonians, who attempted to pass in boats, many drove against the rocks, and perished; but such as employed hides, reached the opposite shore in safety. The Hydraotes is of the same breadth with the Acesines, but flows with a gentle current. On its eastern bank, Alexander learned that the Cathaei, Malli, and other independent Indian tribes, prepared to resist his progress. They had encamped on the side of the hill, near the city Sangala, two days march from the Hydraotes; and, instead of a breast-work, had fortified themselves with a triple row of carriages. Alexander advanced with his cavalry; the Indians stirred not from their post, but, mounting their carriages, poured forth a shower of missile weapons. Alexander perceiving the cavalry unfit for such an attack, immediately dismounted, and conducted a battalion of foot

against the enemy. The lines were attacked, where weakest; some passages were opened; the Macedonians rushed in; and the Indians, being successively driven from their triple barrier, fled in precipitation to Sangala.

C H A P.
XXXIX.

The walls of that place were too extensive to be completely invested. On one side, the town was skirted by a lake, long and broad, but not deep. Alexander suspecting that the Indians, intimidated by their former defeat, would attempt to escape in the night, caused the lake to be surrounded with his cavalry. This precaution was attended with success. The foremost of the Indians were cut to pieces by the advanced guards of the Macedonian horse; the rest escaped with difficulty to Sangala. Alexander then invested the greatest part of the town with a rampart and a ditch, and prepared to advance his engines to batter the walls, when he was informed by some deserters, that the enemy still resolved, that very night, to steal, if possible, through the lake; if not, to force their way with their whole strength. Upon this intelligence Alexander posted Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, with three thousand targeteers, one troop of archers, and all the Agrians, upon the spot where he sagaciously conjectured that the besieged would attempt to force their passage. At the first sound of the trumpet, the other commanders were to advance to the assistance of Ptolemy. Alexander declared his intention to share the common danger. By this judicious disposition, the enemy were

Sangala
besieged
and taken.

C H A P. XXXIX. successfully repelled, after leaving five hundred men on the place. Meanwhile Porus, Alexander's principal ally in those parts, arrived in the camp with five thousand Indians, and a considerable number of elephants. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the Macedonians prepared to terminate the siege. The engines were got ready; the wall, built of brick, was undermined; the scaling-ladders were fixed; several breaches were made; and the town was taken by assault. Seventeen thousand Indians are said to have perished in the sack of Sangala; above seventy thousand were taken prisoners; Sangala was rased; its confederates submitted or fled. Above a hundred Macedonians fell in the siege or assault; twelve hundred were wounded.

Eastern
boundary
of Alex-
ander's
conquests.

The persevering intrepidity of Alexander thus rendered him master of the valuable country, now called the Punjab, watered by the five great streams whose confluence forms the Indus¹⁵. The banks of the Hyphasis, the most eastern of these rivers, which he actually intended to cross, allured by the flattering description of the adjoining territory,

¹⁵ The annals of the Gentoos distinguish Alexander by the epithets of Mhaahah, Dukkoyt, and Kooneah, "the great robber and assassin;" but most of the Oriental traditions are highly honorable to that prince, and extol his humanity not less than his prowess. The high idea entertained of him by the Indians, appears from their ascribing to his taste and magnificence, the most remarkable monuments scattered over their immense country. See l'Examen Critique, p. 143, et seqq. M. Anquetil's Zend-Avesta, t. i. p. 392. and Mr. Howell's Religion of the Gentoos, P. ii. p. 5.

were adorned by twelve Macedonian altars, equal C H A P.
in height, and exceeding in bulk, the greatest XXXIX.
towers in that country. These monuments, erected
midway between Delhi and Lahor¹⁶, marked the

¹⁶ Probably near the place where the great western road passes between those cities. See D'Anville Geogr. Ancienne, and Gibbon's Hist. vol. i. c. ii. Major Rennel, however, in his excellent Memoir on the new Map of Hindostan, assigns reasons for believing that Alexander was not so high up the river. "After crossing," says he, "the Acesines, or Jenaub, and the Hydraotes or Ravee, which latter he may be supposed to cross at the place where Lahor now stands, he appears to be drawn out of the direct route toward the Ganges, to attack the city of Sangala, most probably lying between Lahor and Moultan. From Sangala he proceeded to the Hyphasis, or Setlege, most probably between Adjodin and Debalpour, by the circumstance of the deserts lying between him and the Ganges; for the country between the Beath and the Ganges is fertile and well inhabited, but that between the lower parts of the Setlege and the Ganges, has really a desert in it, as Timur experienced in his march from Adjodin to Balnir. The distance between Alexander's position on the Hyphasis and the Jumma, as given by Pliny, accords with his opinion. He gives it as three hundred and thirty six Roman miles, which, by a proper proportioned scale, formed from his distances in known places, reaches from the banks of the Jumma to a point a little below the conflux of the Beath and Setlege. But had Alexander been as high up the river as the place where the great western road crosses from Lahor to Delhi, he would have been only two hundred and fifty such miles from the Jumma. This opinion is strengthened by the account of what happened immediately after; I mean his recrossing the Hydraotes, and then encamping on the bank of the Acesines, in a low situation, and where the whole country was flooded on the coming on of the periodical rains; which circumstance obliged him to move his camp higher up the river, into a more elevated country. This agrees perfectly with the description of the country. The lower parts of the courses of the Jenaub and Ravee are really through a low country; and these are also the parts nearest to Adjodin and Debalpour, be-

C H A P. extremity of Alexander's empire; an empire thus
 XXXIX. limited, not by the difficulties of the country, or
 the opposition of enemies, but by the immoveable
 and unanimous resolution of his European troops.

Alexander
 falls down
 the Hydaspes,
 accompanied
 by his
 army.
 Olymp.
 cxliii. 3.
 A. C. 326.

Invincible by his enemies, Alexander submitted to his friends, at whose desire he set bounds to his trophies in the East. But his restless curiosity prepared new toils and dangers for the army and himself. Having returned to the cities Nicæa and Bucephalia, he divided his forces, for the sake of exploring more carefully the unknown regions of India. Two divisions, respectively commanded by Craterus and Hephæstion (for Cænus was now dead) had orders to march southward along the opposite banks of the Hydaspes. Philip, to whom he had committed the government of the provinces adjacent to Bactria, was recalled with the troops under his command; and the whole

tween which places, I suppose, Alexander's altars were erected." It is rather unfortunate for this ingenious conjecture, that the desert on the eastern bank of the Hyphasis, between Alexander and the Ganges, is to be found only in the inaccurate compilation of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 612. (whose narrative of Alexander's expedition is as much inferior to Arrian's, as his imperfect and inconsistent account of the expedition of the younger Cyrus, and the retreat of the ten thousand, is inferior to the admired *Anabasis* of Xenophon), and in the romantic description of Curtius, l. ix. c. ii. The existence of such a desert, at the extremity of Alexander's conquests, is contradicted by the circumstantial and satisfactory narrative of Arrian, l. v. p. 119. who says, "that the country beyond the Hyphasis was rich and fertile, the inhabitants industrious and brave; governed by a moderate aristocracy; flourishing in peace and plenty; possessing a great number of elephants, and those of superior strength and stature."

Macedonian conquests in India, including seven nations and above two thousand cities, were subjected to the dominion of Porus. Meanwhile the Ionians, Cyprians, Phœnicians, and other maritime nations, who followed the standard of Alexander, industriously built, or collected, above two thousand vessels¹⁷, for sailing down the Hydaspes till

¹⁷ "It may appear extraordinary," says Mr. Rennel, "that Alexander should, in the course of a few months, prepare so vast a fleet for his voyage down the Indus; especially as it is said to be the work of his army. But the Punjab country, like that of Bengal, is full of navigable rivers, which communicating with the Indus, form an uninterrupted navigation from Cashmere to Tatta, and no doubt abounded with boats and vessels ready constructed to the conqueror's hands. I think it probable too, that the vessels in which Nearchus performed his coasting voyage to the Gulph of Persia, were found in the Indus. Vessels of one hundred and eighty tons burden are sometimes used in the Ganges; and those of one hundred not unfrequently." It is worthy of observation, that this judicious conjecture of Mr. Rennel is justified by the words of Arrian. In speaking of the number of vessels, he says, *και ὅσα ἄλλα ποταμια, η των παλαι πλεοντων κατὰ τῆς ποταμίας, η εν τῷ τότε πορηθεντων*, p. 124. The vessels employed by Alexander appear, therefore, to have been partly collected on the Indian rivers, and partly constructed for the occasion. They were, 1. Long ships, for the purpose of war; 2. Round ships, for carrying provisions, baggage, etc.; and, 3. *ἱππαγωγα πλοια*, vessels for transporting horses. Mr. Rennel's conjecture can only relate to the ships of burden. That the two other kinds were built by the Ionians and islanders, appears from Arrian, p. 124 et 181. The account of Alexander's embarkation, given in Arrian's expedition of Alexander, as well as in his Indian history, is inconsistent with the relation of Curtius, l. ix. c. iii. with that of Diodorus, l. xvii. p. 563. and that of Justin, l. xii. c. ix. The narrative of Arrian is, however, confirmed by Strabo, l. xv. p. 1023. That accurate geographer informs us, that the fleet was constructed near the cities which Alexander had built on each side the Hydaspes; and that the timber, chiefly pine, fir, and cedar, was brought from a wood near to Mount Emodus.

C H A P. its junction by the Indus, and thence along that
 XXXIX. majestic stream to the Indian ocean. On board
 this fleet the king embarked in person with the
 third division of his forces. His navigation em-
 ployed several months, being frequently retarded
 by hostilities with the natives, particularly the war-
 like tribe of the Malli. These Barbarians were
 driven from the open country; their cities were
 successively besieged and taken; but, at the storm
 of their capital, a scene was transacted, which would
 have indicated madness in any other general, and
 which betrayed temerity even in Alexander.

Extraordi-
 nary ad-
 venture in
 besieging
 the Mal-
 lian fort-
 refs.

When their streets were filled with the enemy,
 the Malli took refuge in their citadel. This fort-
 refs was defended by a thick wall, which being
 thrown around the declivity of a mountain, was
 extremely lofty without, but towards the inner cir-
 cumference of an inconsiderable height. Alexan-
 der, provoked by the obstinacy of the Indians,
 commanded the scaling-ladders to be applied with
 all possible expedition. But this service being per-
 formed more tardily than usual, the king, in his
 anger, snatched a ladder from one who carried it,
 and having fastened it to the wall, mounted with
 rapidity in defiance of the enemy's weapons. The
 Macedonians, alarmed by the danger of their gene-
 ral, followed in such numbers, that the ladder
 broke as Alexander reached the summit; the same
 accident happened to other ladders which were
 hastily applied, and injudiciously crowded. For
 some moments, the king thus remained alone on
 the wall, conspicuous by the brightness of his

arms, and the extravagance¹⁸ of his valor, exposed to thick volleys of hostile darts from the adjacent towers. His resolution was more than daring. At one bound he sprang into the place, and posting himself at the wall, slew the chief of the Malli, and three others, who ventured to assault him. Meanwhile Abreas, Leonnatus, and Peucestas, the only Macedonians who had got safe to the top of the wall, imitated the example of Alexander. Abreas was wounded and fell; his companions, regardless of their own safety, defended the king, whose breast had been pierced with an arrow. They were soon covered with wounds, and Alexander seemed ready to expire. By this time, the Macedonians had burst through the gates of the place. Their first concern was to carry off the king; the second to revenge his death, for they believed the wound to be mortal, as breath issued forth with his blood. Some report, that the weapon was extracted by Critodemus of Cos; others, that no surgeon being near, Perdiccas, of the life-guards, opened the wound with his sword, by his master's command. The great effusion of blood threatened his immediate dissolution; but a seasonable swooning retarded the circulation of the fluids, stopped the discharge of blood, and saved the life of Alexander. The affectionate admiration in which he was held by his troops, appeared in their

¹⁸ Τῷ ατοπῷ τῆς τολμῆς; literally, "the absurdity of his valor," could our idiom admit such an expression, ατοπος properly signifies "what has no place in nature." It is commonly translated *absurd*, but may here mean *supernatural*.

CHAP. gloomy sadness during his danger, and their im-
XXXIX. moderate joy at his recovery¹⁹.

Marches
 through
 the Gedro-
 sian desert.
 Olymp.
 cxiii. 4.
 A. C. 325.

Voyage of
 Nearchus.

Having performed his intended voyage to the ocean, and provided necessaries for a long march, Alexander determined to proceed towards Persepolis, through the barren solitudes of Gedrosia. This arduous design was not inspired by an idle ambition to surpass the exploits of Cyrus and Semiramis, whose armies were said to have perished in those deserts, but prompted by the necessity of supplying with water, the first European fleet which navigated the Indian sea, explored the Persian gulph, and examined the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This important voyage was performed, and afterwards related, by Nearchus²⁰, whose enterprising genius was worthy of the master whom he served. In discovering the sea and the land, the fleet and army of Alexander mutually assisted each other. By the example of the king, both

¹⁹ The extraordinary adventure related in the text, is said by Curtius, l. ix. c. iv. to have happened in storming a city of the Oxydracæ. Lucian (Dial. mort.) et Pausan. (Attic.) agree with Curtius. But these are feeble authorities, compared with Arrian, l. vi. p. 135, et seqq. et Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1026.

²⁰ Nearchus was a native of Crete, but had long resided in Amphipolis. The journal of his celebrated voyage from the mouth of the Indus to that of the Euphrates, is preserved in Arrian's Indian history, from c. xx. to c. xli. inclusively. Seven months were employed in this voyage, during three of which the fleet kept the sea. Nearchus sailed in the month of September, and arrived in April in the Euphrates. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. vi. c. xxiii. The relation of this illustrious admiral has been called in question by Dodwell, Hardouin, and others: but its authenticity is confirmed by the incomparable D'Anville. See Recherch. Geog. sur le Golfe Persique, Acad. des Inscrit. t. xxx. p. 133.

were taught to despise toil and danger. On foot, and encumbered with his armor, he traversed the tempestuous sands of the Persian coast, sharing the hunger, thirst, and fatigue of the meanest soldier²¹; nor was it till after a march of two months, distinguished by unexampled hardships, that the army emerged into the cultivated province of Carmania.

In this country Alexander was met by a division of his forces, which he had sent under the command of Craterus through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ. Stasanor and Phrataphernes, governors of those warlike nations, and of the more northern provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, brought a seasonable supply of camels and other beasts of burthen, to relieve the exigences of an army enfeebled by disease and exhausted by fatigue. The waste of men, occasioned by this destructive expedition²², was repaired by the

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Alexander is joined in Carmania by various divisions of his army.

²¹ Parties were continually employed, on all sides, in searching for water. On one occasion, they were more unfortunate than usual; the heat of the sun was excessive, and reflected by the scorching sand; Alexander marched on foot, parched with thirst, exhausted by fatigue, and oppressed by care. Amidst these distressful circumstances some soldiers discovering a small quantity of turbid water, brought it in great haste to the king. He received the present with thanks, then poured it on the ground; and the water, thus spilt, refreshed not only Alexander, but the whole army. Arrian, p. 141.

²² Plutarch says, that the march through Gedrosia cost Alexander near one hundred thousand men; a palpable exaggeration, since he supposes the whole army, at their departure from India, to have amounted to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse; of which one division embarked with Nearchus, and another marched, under the command of Craterus, through the territories of the Arii and Drangæ; little more than a third part of the whole number entered the Gedrosian deserts.

C H A P. XXXIX. He punishes the misconduct of his generals.

arrival of numerous battalions from Media, which rendered the standard of Alexander sufficiently respectable. Cleander and Sitalus, the commanders of those forces, were accused by the Medes of despoiling their temples, ransacking their tombs, and committing other detestable deeds of avarice and cruelty. Their own soldiers confirmed the accusation; and their crimes were punished with death. This prompt justice gave immediate satisfaction, and served as a salutary example in future; for, of all the rules of government, practised by this illustrious conqueror, none had a stronger tendency to confirm his authority, and consolidate his empire, than his vigilance to restrain the rapacity of his lieutenants, and to defend his subjects from oppression²³.

Improbable account of the march through Carmania.

Among the fables which give the air of romance to the memorable exploits of Alexander, we may reckon the triumphant procession through Carmania. In imitation of Bacchus, Alexander is said to have traversed this province, amidst dancing and music, crowned with flowers, intoxicated with wine, and allowing the utmost extravagance of disorder and folly to himself and his followers²⁴. The revel continued seven days, during which a

²³ Καί τῃτο, εἰπερ τι ἄλλο, κατέσχευεν ἐν κόσμῳ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐξ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δορυαλωτὰ, ἢ ἔκοντα προσχωρησάντα, τούτοις μὲν πληθεῖοντα, τοσόνδε ἀλλήλων ἀφεισηκότα, ὅτι ἐκ ἐξῆν ὑποτῇ Ἀλεξάνδρου Βασιλείᾳ ἀδικεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρχομένης ὑπο τῶν ἀρχόντων. Arrian, l. vi. p. 143.

“ This, especially, kept in awe the nations that were either subdued by Alexander, or that voluntarily submitted to him (numerous and remote as they were, that, under the reign of this prince, the governors durst not injure the governed.”

²⁴ Plut. in Alexand. Diodor. p. 573.

small body of sober men might have overwhelmed this army of bacchanals, and avenged the cause of Darius and of Asia²⁵. Were not this improbable fiction discountenanced by the silence of contemporary writers²⁶, it would be refuted by its own absurdity. Instead of yielding to the transports of mad joy, Alexander, whose heart was extremely susceptible of compassion, must have been deeply afflicted by the recent loss of so many brave men; nor did the necessity of his affairs, to which he was ever duly attentive, admit of unseasonable delay.

Encouraged by the long absence of their master, and the perils to which his too adventurous character continually exposed his life, Harpalus, Orsines, and Abulites, who were respectively governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa, began to despise his orders, and to act as independent princes, rather than accountable ministers. In such emergencies, Alexander knew by experience the advantage of celerity. He therefore divided his army. The greater part of the heavy-armed troops were intrusted to Hephæstion, with orders to proceed along the sea-coast, and to attend the motions of the fleet commanded by Nearchus. With the remainder, the king hastened to Pasargadæ. Orsines was convicted of many enormous crimes, which were punished with as enormous severity²⁷.

Punishment of the governors of Babylon, Persepolis, and Susa.

²⁵ Curtius, l. ix. c. x.

²⁶ Arrian informs us, that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus make the least mention of this extraordinary transaction, which he treats with proper contempt. Vid. Arrian, p. 143.

²⁷ Arrian, who excuses Alexander's adopting the Persian manners, repeatedly blames him for imitating the Barbarian punishments.

C H A P. Baryaxes, a Mede, who had assumed the royal
 XXXIX. tiara, suffered death; his numerous adherents
 shared the same fate. The return of Alexander
 from the East proved fatal to Abulites, and his
 son Oxathres, who, during the absence of their
 master, had cruelly oppressed the wealthy province
 of Susiana, and particularly the inhabitants of the
 capital. Harpalus, whose conduct at Babylon had
 been no less flagitious, escaped with his treasures
 to Athens: the avarice of the Athenians engaged
 them to receive this wealthy fugitive; but their
 fears forbade them to harbour the enemy of Alex-
 ander. By a decree of the people, he was expel-
 led from Attica, and this traitor to the most ge-
 nerous of princes seems himself to have been soon
 afterwards treacherously slain²⁸. The brave Peu-
 cestas, who had saved Alexander's life at the assault
 of the Mallian fortress, was promoted to the go-
 vernment of Persia. In this important command,
 he proved his wisdom to be equal to his valor.

Peucestas
 rewarded.

²⁸ Comp. Curtius, l. x. c. ii. Plut. in Demosthen. Diodor.
 l. xviii. p. 19. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 576. But all these writers
 omit the first crime of Harpalus, mentioned by Arrian, the par-
 don of which does great honor to the clemency of Alexander.
 Harpalus, even in the lifetime of Philip, had gained the friend-
 ship of his illustrious son, who, soon after mounting the throne,
 employed him as his treasurer. But, before the battle of Issus,
 this unworthy minister betrayed his trust, and fled to Megara.
 Alexander, unwilling hastily to condemn an old friend, who had
 for his sake incurred the resentment of Philip, ascribed the mis-
 conduct of Harpalus to the bad counsels of Tauriscus, a daring
 villain, who had accompanied his flight. After the death of
 Tauriscus, he prevailed on Harpalus again to return to his service,
 and again intrusted him with the custody of his treasures. Arrian,
 l. iii. c. vi.

By

By conforming to the customs, adopting the manners, and using the language of the vanquished, he acquired the affectionate respect of the people committed to his care. His pliant condescension, directed by sound policy, was highly approved by the discernment of Alexander; but his affectation of foreign manners greatly offended the pride of his Macedonian countrymen.

In the central provinces of his empire, which from time immemorial had been the seat of Asiatic pomp and luxury, Alexander spent the last, and not the least glorious, year of his reign. In the nervous language of antiquity, the world was silent in his presence; and his only remaining care was to improve and consolidate his conquests. For these important purposes, he carefully examined the course of the Eulæus, the Tigris, and the Euphrates; and the indefatigable industry of his troops was judiciously employed in removing the weirs, or dams, by which the timid ignorance of the Assyrian and Persian kings had obstructed the navigation of those great rivers. But Alexander, having no reason to dread fleets of war, wished to invite those of commerce. The harbours were repaired; arsenals were constructed; a basin was formed at Babylon sufficient to contain a thousand gallies. By these and similar improvements, he expected to facilitate internal intercourse among his central provinces, while, by opening new channels of communication, he hoped to unite the wealthy countries of Egypt and the East, with the most remote regions of the earth. His ships were sent to

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Alexander improves the internal state of his conquests. Olymp. cxiii. 4. A. C. 325.

C H A P. explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs. Archias brought him such accounts of the former, that he determined to plant its shores with Grecian colonies. Hieron of Soli proceeded farthest in examining the Arabian coast; but he found it impossible to double the southern extremity of that immense peninsula, and still more to remount (as he had been commanded by Alexander) to the city Hieropolis, in Egypt. This daring enterprise seemed to be reserved for the king in person. It is certain, that, shortly before his death, he took measures for examining this great southern gulph, as well as for discovering the shores of the Caspian Sea, which was then believed to communicate with the Northern Ocean²⁹.

XXXIX.
Sends vessels to explore the Persian and Arabian gulphs.

Restrains the inundations of the Euphrates.

But objects, less remote, demanded his more immediate attention. In the winter season, the waters of the Euphrates, which produce the extraordinary fertility of Assyria³⁰, are confined within their lofty channel. But in spring and summer, and especially towards the summer solstice, they overflow their banks, and, instead of watering, would totally deluge the adjacent territory, unless the superfluous fluid were discharged into the great canal of Pallacopas. This artificial river, formed, it is said, by Nebuchadnezzar, commences a hundred miles below Babylon. It is not fed by springs, nor replenished from mountain-snows, but branching from the great trunk of the

²⁹ Arrian, l. vii. p. 158.

³⁰ "This country," according to Strabo, "is more fertile than any other; producing, it is said, three hundred fold." Strabo, p. 1077.

Euphrates, moderates its too impetuous stream, by diverting it into the sea, through lakes and marshes, by various, and, for the most part, invisible outlets. But this useful contrivance finally defeated its own purpose. The Pallacopas gradually sunk into its soft and oozy bed, and the Euphrates, which even originally was much higher than this canal, continued to flow into the new channel, even after the season when its waters cease to rise by the melting of the Armenian snows. This diminution of the river rendered it insufficient to water the fields of Assyria; an inconvenience severely felt in a country almost unacquainted with rain. The governors of Babylon attempted unsuccessfully to remedy the evil, whose magnitude justly excited the attention of Alexander. From war, the mother of arts, he had learned to improve the benefits of peace. While preparations were making for more distant expeditions, he sailed down the Euphrates; carefully examined the nature of the soil; and having discovered, at the distance of about four miles from the insculcation of the Euphrates and Pallacopas, a hard and rocky bottom, he commanded a canal to be cut there, which served to moderate the inundations at one season, without too much draining the waters at another. Having performed this essential service to Assyria, he followed the course of the Pallacopas, and surveyed the lakes and marshes, which guard the Arabian frontiers. In the neighbourhood of his new canal, he observed a convenient situation for a city, which, being built and fortified, was peopled with

C H A P.

XXXIX.

Builds a
city near
the canal
of Palla-
copas.

C H A P. those superannuated Greeks, who seemed no longer
 XXXIX. capable of military service, and with such others
 of their countrymen as thought proper to settle in
 this fertile, though remote country¹¹.

Incorpo-
 rates the
 Barbarian
 levies with
 the Greeks
 and Ma-
 cedonians.

Animated by a zeal for public happiness, Alexander thus traversed the populous provinces of the East, and successively visited the imperial cities of Persepolis, Susa, Ecbatana, and Babylon. These places, and others of inferior note, were adorned with signal marks of his taste, and respectively distinguished by transactions which discover the boldest, yet most enlightened, views of policy. The important design of uniting, by laws and manners, the subjects of his extensive monarchy, was ever present to his mind. For this purpose, he took care to incorporate in his Barbarian armies the Greeks and Macedonians. In each company, or rather in each division of sixteen, he joined four Europeans to twelve Asiatics. In the Macedonian squadrons and battalions, he intermixed, on the other hand, such of the Barbarians as were most distinguished by their strength, their activity, and their merit. Soon after the battle of Arbela, he had given orders to raise new levies in the conquered provinces. The Barbarian youth delighted in the Grecian exercise and discipline, and rejoiced at being associated to the glory of their victors. On the banks of the Tigris, Alexander was joined by a powerful body of those recruits, whose improvements in arts and arms fully answered his expectations, and justly rewarded his foresight. The arrival of such numerous auxiliaries enabled him to

¹¹ Adrian, ubi supra.

discharge at Opis, a city on the Tigris, such C H A P.
 Greeks and Macedonians as were tired of the ser- XXXIX.
 vice, worn out with age, or enfeebled by sickness.
 After an interesting scene, which we shall have oc-
 casion to describe, he dismissed those respectable
 veterans, loaded with wealth and honors. They
 were conducted by Craterus, whom he appointed
 to succeed Antipater in the administration of his
 European dominions; and Antipater, who had
 long executed that important trust with equal pru-
 dence and fidelity, was commanded to join his
 master with new levies from Greece, Thrace, and
 Macedon³².

At Susa, Alexander learned that his soldiers,
 indulging the extravagance too natural to their
 profession, had contracted immense debts, which
 they had neither ability nor inclination to pay.
 Upon this intelligence, he issued orders that each
 man should give an exact account of what he
 owed, with the names of his creditors, declaring,
 that he was determined to satisfy them at his own
 expense. The troops suspected an intention, merely
 to discover their characters, and to learn their œco-
 nomy or profusion. At first, therefore, many de-
 nied, and all diminished, their debts. But Alex-
 ander issued a second declaration, "That it be-
 came not a prince to deceive his people, nor a
 people to suppose their prince capable of deceit."
 Faithful lists were immediately presented, and the
 whole debts discharged, to the amount, it is said,
 of four millions sterling.

Pays the
 debts of
 his sol-
 diers.

³² Arrian, ubi supra.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

Intermar-
riages of
the Euro-
peans and
Asiatics.

This event was accompanied by a transaction of a different kind, which discovers, however, the same spirit, and which equally endeared Alexander to his Asiatic subjects. In the royal palace of Susa, he publicly espoused Barciné³³, the daughter of Darius; and bestowed her sister Drypetis on his friend Hephæstion, saying, that he wished their children to be kinsmen. By the advice of their master, Perdiccas, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals, intermarried with the most illustrious of the vanquished Barbarians. The soldiers were encouraged by presents, and by the hope of royal favor, to follow the example of their leaders; and it appeared from the catalogue of their names, presented to the king, that above ten thousand Greeks and Macedonians married Asiatic women³⁴.

Alexander
prepares to
exhibit
dramatic
entertain-
ments at
Ecbatana.
Olymp.
cxiv. i.

In all the cities which he visited, he was careful to celebrate the musical and gymnastic games; those distinguishing fruits of Grecian culture, which being adapted to gratify the senses, as well as to please the fancy, were beheld with delight even by the most ignorant Barbarians. Convinced that

³³ Called Statira by Curtius, Justin, and Plutarch.

³⁴ Plutarch, seizing the true spirit of these regulations, exclaims, Ω βαρβαρε Ξερξή, ἢ αὐοῦντε ἢ μακτὴν πολλὰ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλησποντιαν πονηθεὶς γεφυραν, ὅτως ἐμφορονεὶς βασιλεὺς Ἀσίαν Ἑυρώπῃ συναπτέσι, ἔξυλοις, ἔδε σχεδιαῖς, ἔδε αἰψυχῖς ἢ ἀσυμπαθεσι δεσμοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτινομίμῳ, ἢ γάμοις σωφροσι, ἢ κοινωνίαις παιδῶν τὰ γένη συναπτόντες. "O! barbarous and foolish Xerxes, thou who laboredst in vain to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, it is thus that wise kings join Asia to Europe, not by boards, ships, lifeless and insensible bonds, but by lawful love, chaste nuptials, and the indissoluble tie of common progeny." Plut. Orat. i. de Fortun. Alexand. See likewise above, vol. ii. c. ix. p. 38.

nothing has a more direct tendence to unite and harmonize the minds and manners of men, than public entertainments and common pleasures, Alexander determined to introduce and diffuse the amusements of the theatre. For this purpose above three thousand players and musicians, collected from all parts of Greece, assembled in Ec-batana, the capital of Media, which was chosen for the scene of those theatrical exhibitions³⁵. But the sickness and death of Hephæstion changed this magnificent spectacle into melancholy obsequies. In the moment of his triumph, the king was deprived of his dearest friend³⁶. This irreparable loss, he felt and expressed with an affectionate ardor congenial to his character, and justified his immoderate sorrow by the inconsolable³⁷ grief of Achilles for the fate of his beloved

Death of
Hephæstion.

³⁵ It should seem from Plutarch, that the entertainments of the theatre were soon diffused through other parts of Asia. *Αλεξάνδρου τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξημερεύοντος, Ὅμηρος ἦν ἀναγνώσματος, καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Σαρδικίων καὶ Γεδρωσίων παῖδες τὰς Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους τραγωδίας ᾄδον.* "Alexander, having tamed Asia, Homer was read in the East; the children of the Persians, Susians, and Gedrosians, recited the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides." Plut. *ibid.*

³⁶ Next to Hephæstion, Craterus seems to have enjoyed the greatest share of Alexander's confidence; yet he often said, "Craterus loves the king, Hephæstion loves Alexander." Plutarch in *Alexand.* In passing through the Troade, Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, and Hephæstion that of Patroclus. *Ælian, Var. Hist. xii. 7.*

³⁷ If, in the melancholy shades below,

The flames of friends and lovers cease to glow,

Yet mine shall sacred last; and, undecay'd,

Burn on through death, and animate my shade.

Pope's *Iliad.*

C H A P. XXXIX. His obsequies and honors. Patroclus. During three days and nights after the death of Hephæstion, Alexander neither changed his apparel nor tasted food. A public mourning was observed throughout the empire. Funeral games were celebrated in the great cities; the royal cohort was commanded thenceforward to retain the name and banner of Hephæstion³⁸; and the lofty genius of Stasicles erected at Ecbatana a monument worthy of *him*, whom the obsequious oracle of Ammon declared deserving of *heroic* worship. To appease the grief of Alexander, his lieutenants dedicated their armor at the tomb of his friend. The example was given by Eumenes, the king's secretary, who shortly before Hephæstion's death, had offended this illustrious favorite; a man who long and uninterruptedly enjoyed, without abusing in any one instance, the confidence of his master; who exercised power without pride, and enforced discipline without severity; whose conduct merited at once public respect and royal favor, and whose virtues disarmed envy³⁹.

³⁸ According to Plutarch, Stasicles proposed to form Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, grasping a city with one hand, and with the other discharging a river into the sea. Plut. in Alexand. Vitruvius, l. ii. in Proem. et Lucian, t. ii. p. 489, ascribe this design to Dinocrates. Alexander extolled the boldness of the artist, but added, Εἰ δὲ μένειν τὸν Ἀθῶν κατὰ χώραν ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ἑνὸς βασιλέως ἐνδοξισαντος εἶναι μνημεῖον. "Let alone Mount Athos; it is enough that it is the monument of one king's folly already;" alluding to the event related above, vol. ii. c. ix. p. 38.

³⁹ Arrian, p. 156. tells us, that concerning the funeral honors of ephæstion, innumerable and absurd fictions were invented by the friends and by the enemies of Alexander; nay, what is extraordinary, the same falsehoods were sometimes authorized by both; the former intending thereby to extol the warmth of his friendship, the latter to expose his extravagance and folly.

To moderate and divert his sorrow, Alexander, who in the practice of war found at once business and amusement, undertook an expedition in person, which perhaps would otherwise have been committed to the valor of his lieutenants. The Cossæans, a fierce and untractable nation, inhabited the southern frontier of Media. Secure amidst their rocks and fastnesses, they had ever defied the arms of the Persians; and the degenerate successors of Cyrus had judged it more prudent to purchase their friendship than to repel their hostility. In their annual journey from Babylon to Ec-batana, the pride of these magnificent but pusillanimous princes condescended to bestow presents on the Cossæans, that they might procure an undisturbed passage for themselves and their train; and this impolitic meanness only increased the audacity of the mountaineers, who often ravaged the Sufian plains, and often retired to their fastnesses, loaded with the richest spoils of Media. Alexander was not of a temper patiently to endure the repetition of such indignities. In forty days, he attacked, defeated, and totally subdued this rapacious and warlike tribe. The Cossæans were driven from their last retreats, and compelled to surrender their territory. After obtaining sufficient pledges of their fidelity, the conqueror allowed them to ransom their prisoners, and at his departure from their country, took care to erect such fortresses as seemed necessary for bridling, in future, the dangerous fury of this headstrong people⁴⁰.

C H A P.
XXXIX.
Alexander
reduces
and chastises the
Cossæans.

⁴⁰ Such is the account of this expedition given by Arrian, l. vii. p. 157. and confirmed by Strabo, l. xi. p. 795, and by Diodo-

C H A P.

XXXIX.

Glory of
Alexander.His me-
lancholy.

In returning from this successful expedition towards the banks of the Euphrates, Alexander was met by ambassadors from Carthage, Spain, and Italy, as well as from many inland countries of Asia and Africa, extending from Mount Imaus to the southern extremity of Æthiopia. It was then, says his historian, that he appeared master of the world, both to his followers and to himself; and as if the known parts of it had been insufficient to satisfy his ambition, he gave orders to cut timber in the Hyrcanian forest, with a design to build ships, and explore the undiscovered shores of the Caspian and Arabian seas. But neither these lofty designs, nor the glory of war, nor the pomp of royalty, which, of all princes, Alexander enjoyed in the greatest splendor⁴¹, could appease his grief

rus, l. xvii. p. 577. Plutarch, on the other hand, most unwarrantably and absurdly tells us, that Alexander, to divert his grief, took the amusement of *man-hunting*, and massacred the whole Cossæan nation, without distinction of age or sex. Plut. p. 94.

⁴¹ Vid. Athen. l. x. p. 436. et l. xii. p. 537 — 541. We may believe that Alexander's tent contained a hundred couches; that the pillars which supported it were incrustated with gold; that he gave audience, surrounded with guards, and seated on a golden throne. In the language of antiquity, "the master of both continents" found it necessary to unite the pomp of the East with the arts of Greece. But when Athenæus tells us of the precious essences, the fragrant wines, the effeminacy, and vices of Alexander, we discover the credulous, or rather criminal sophist, who has collected into one work all the vices and impurities which disgraced his country and human nature. To the unwarranted assertions of the obscure writers cited by an Ælian (l. ix. c. iii.) and an Athenæus, we can oppose the authority of an Arrian and a Plutarch. — Could he who so severely censured the effeminate and luxurious life of Agnon and Philotas, be himself effeminate and luxurious? "Of all men," says Arrian, "Alexander was the most economical in what regarded his private pleasures." Arrian, l. vii. p. 167.

for the loss of Hephæstion. The death of his beloved friend is said, by Arrian, to have hastened his own. It certainly tinged his character with a deep melancholy, which rendered him susceptible of such impressions as the firmness of his manly soul would otherwise have resisted and repelled.

He, who had so often employed superstition as an instrument of policy, began himself to fall a prey to that miserable passion. The servants of princes, ever quick in discerning, and dexterous in turning to their own profit, the foibles of their masters, soon discovered and abused the weakness of Alexander. Alarmed at the severe treatment of several of his colleagues, Apollodorus, a citizen of Amphipolis, who had been intrusted with the government of Babylon, practised with his brother Pythagoras, a diviner; and the latter, ambitious to promote the greatness of his family, pretended to perceive in the victims evident marks of divine displeasure against the king, should he enter the gates of Babylon. Notwithstanding this menace, Alexander, after reducing the Cossæans, approached towards that city with his army. He was met by a long train of Chaldæan priests, who conjured him to change his resolution, because they had received an oracle from Belus, declaring that his journey thither would prove fatal. The interest of the Chaldæans conspired with the views of Apollodorus. The temple of Belus, a stupendous edifice, situate in the heart of Babylon, had been very richly endowed by the Assyrian kings. But the produce of the consecrated ground,

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Artifices
to prevent
his return
to Baby-
lon.

C H A P. instead of being applied to its original destination
 XXXIX. of repairing the temple, and offering sacrifices to the Gods, had, ever since the impious reign of Xerxes, been appropriated by the Chaldæan priests. Alexander, it was well known, intended to reform this abuse; and, although his mind was not altogether unmoved by the admonition of the priests, he discerned their interested motives, and answered them by a verse of Euripides, "He's the best prophet that conjectures best." Foiled in their first attempt, the Chaldæans had recourse to another artifice. Since the king had determined at every hazard to visit Babylon, they entreated him at least not to enter it on the eastern side, but to fetch a compass round, and to march with his face towards the rising sun. He prepared to comply with this advice; but the marshiness of the soil rendered his design impracticable; and he was thus reluctantly compelled to enter the city by the forbidden road.

His short stay in that city disturbed by superstitious fears. Tenets of the Indian Brachmans.

During his short stay at Babylon, his mind was disturbed by superstitious fears⁴², awakened by the intrigues of Apollodorus, or the artifices of the Chaldæans, and confirmed by a circumstance well fitted to operate on a disordered fancy. In his Indian expedition, he had conversed with the Gymnosophists, or Brachmans, men who *practised* the philosophy which Plato *taught*, and whose contempt for the pomp and pleasures of the present life, was founded on the firm belief of a better and more permanent state of existence. To those sages,

⁴² He became, says Plutarch *δυσελπίς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*.

the fortunate ambition of Alexander appeared an object of derision or pity. At sight of the conqueror, they stamped their feet with vehemence on the ground; indicating, by an expressive action, more eloquent than words, that he, whose name now filled the world, must soon be confined within the narrow grave. The flatterers of the king rebuked them for insulting the son of Jupiter, who had the power to reward or punish them. They replied, by saying, "That all were the sons of Jupiter; that the rewards of Alexander they disdained; and set at defiance his punishments, which at last could only relieve them from the load of frail mortality." Yet Calanus, one of their number, allured by curiosity, or irresistibly captivated by the soothing condescension of the king, agreed to accompany him; for which inconstancy he was much blamed by his companions. Alexander treated this eastern sage with great respect, and when Calanus, who had passed his seventy-second year without experiencing any bodily infirmity, fell sick in Persia, the affectionate prince earnestly entreated him not to anticipate fate by a voluntary death. But finding him inflexibly bent on this purpose, he allowed a pyre to be constructed, to which the Indian (being too feeble to walk or ride on horseback) was conveyed in a litter. In sight of the Macedonian army, who had been ordered to assist at this uncommon solemnity, Calanus composed himself decently on the pyre; the music struck up; the soldiers raised a shout of war; and the Indian,

C H A P.
XXXIX.

Prophecy
and death
of Calanus.

C H A P. with a serene countenance, expired amidst the
XXXIX. flames, singing a hymn to the Gods of his country.

The curiosity of Alexander was unbounded; but his humanity likewise was great. This principle, which is too often a stranger to the breast of conquerors, made him decline witnessing the extraordinary death of a friend, who, for his sake, had abandoned his native land. But before Calanus was carried to the funeral pile, the king affectionately paid him the last visit. Calanus having embraced all present, refused to take leave of Alexander, saying, that "he should again see him in Babylon." The words of a dying man were considered by the Greeks as prophetic. Those of Calanus sunk deep into the mind of Alexander; and the painful impression which they made, hastened his departure from a city, in which so many concurring circumstances forbade him to reside.

Death of
 Alexander
 at Baby-
 lon.
 Olymp.
 cxiv. 1.
 A. C. 324.
 May 28th.

His superstitious terrors, however, seem to have been diverted by the voyage down the Euphrates, and by directing the improvements in the canal of Pallacopas. Having resumed his courage, he ventured to return to Babylon, gave audience to some Grecian ambassadors, who presented him with golden crowns from the submissive flattery of their several republics; and having reviewed his troops and gallies, prepared to execute the enterprises which he had so long meditated. But his designs and his life were now drawing to a close. Whether to conquer his melancholy, or to triumph in the victory which he had already gained over it, he indulged, without moderation, in that banqueting

and festivity to which, after the fatigues of war, C H A P.
 he had often shown himself too much addicted; XXXIX.
 and a fever, occasioned, or at least increased, by
 an excessive abuse of wine, the vice of his nation
 and of his family, put a period to his life in the
 thirty-third year of his age, and in the thirteenth
 of his reign. After the first days of the disorder,
 he had been conveyed to the cool verdure of a
 beautiful garden; but the malady increasing he was
 soon brought back to the palace. The last re-
 mains of strength, he spent in assisting at daily sa-
 crifices to the Gods. During his illness he spoke
 but little, and that only concerning his intended
 expeditions. The temples were crowded by his
 friends; the generals waited in the hall; the sol-
 diers surrounded the gates. Such was the grief of
 many, and the respectful admiration of all, that
 none ventured to announce to him his approaching
 dissolution, none ventured to demand his last or-
 ders. When all hopes of recovery had vanished,
 his favorite troops were admitted to behold him.
 He was speechless, but had still strength to stretch
 forth his hand⁴³.

⁴³ Arrian says, that many reports were spread concerning the death of Alexander, such as, that he had been poisoned by the emissaries of Antipater, whom, as mentioned above in the text, he had recently deprived of the government of Greece and Macedonia; that when asked to whom he bequeathed the empire, he had answered, to the "strongest;" and that he had foretold his obsequies would be celebrated by bloody wars among his lieutenants. But these rumors receive not the least countenance from the royal diary, which seems to have been carefully copied by Arrian, nor from the histories of Ptolemy and Aristobulus.

C H A P.

XXXIX.

His character.

Such was the reign of Alexander, whose character, being unexampled and inimitable, can only be explained by relating his actions. He was of a low stature, and somewhat deformed; but the activity and elevation of his mind animated and ennobled his frame. By a life of continual labor, and by an early and habitual practice of the gymnastic exercises, he had hardened his body against the impression of cold and heat, hunger and thirst, and prepared his robust constitution for bearing such exertions of strength and activity, as have appeared incredible to the undisciplined softness of modern times. In generosity and in prowess, he rivalled the greatest heroes of antiquity; and in the race of glory, having finally outstripped all competitors, became ambitious to surpass himself. His superior skill in war gave uninterrupted success to his arms; and his natural humanity, enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, taught him to improve his conquests to the best interests of mankind⁴⁵. In his extensive dominions, he built, or

⁴⁴ Plut. Orat. i. et ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁴⁵ Plutarch says, the nations conquered by Alexander might adopt the language of Themistocles, when, in consequence of his banishment from Greece, he was raised to great wealth and honor in Asia. “Ω παῖδες ἀπώλομεθα, εἰ μὴ ἀπώλομεθα.” “O my children! we should have been undone, had we not been undone.” In the same manner, those nations, had they not been vanquished by Alexander, had not been civilized, Egypt would not boast her Alexandria, Mesopotamia her Seleucia, etc. And again, “Alexander taught marriage to the Hyrcanians, and agriculture to the Arachosii. He taught the Sogdians to maintain and not to kill, their parents; the Persians to respect, and not to marry, their mothers; the Scythians to bury, and not to eat, their dead.” Plut. *ibid*.

founded

founded, not less than seventy cities ⁴⁶, the situa- C H A P.
tion of which being chosen with consummate wis- XXXIX.
dom, tended to facilitate communication, to pro-
mote commerce, and to diffuse civility through the
greatest nations of the earth ⁴⁷. It may be sus-
pected, indeed, that he mistook the extent of
human power, when, in the course of one reign,
he undertook to change the face of the world;
and that he miscalculated the stubbornness of ig-
norance, and the force of habit, when he attempted
to enlighten barbarism, to soften servitude, and to
transplant the improvements of Greece into an
African and Asiatic soil, where they have never
been known to flourish. Yet let not the designs
of Alexander be too hastily accused of extrava-
gance. Whoever seriously considers what he ac-
tually performed before his thirty-third year, will
be cautious of determining what he might have ac-
complished, had he reached the ordinary term of
human life. His resources were peculiar to him-
self; and such views, as well as actions, became
him, as would have become none besides. In the
language of a philosophical historian, “ he seems
to have been given to the world by a peculiar dis-
pensation of Providence, being a man like to none
other of the human kind ⁴⁸ ”.

⁴⁶ Vid. Plut. de Fortun. Alexand. tit. ii. p. 327. In the language
of Plutarch, he *sowed* Asia with Greek cities.

⁴⁷ Plut. *ibid.* Diodor. Sicul. xvii. 83. Stephan. Byzant. in voc.
Αλεξάνδρεια.

⁴⁸ Ουδε εμοι εξω τε θεισ Φυναι αν δοκει ανηρ εδενι αλλω ανθρωπων εικως.
Arrian, p. 168. How far he was an instrument in the hands of

C H A P.

XXXIX.

The faults
or crimes
of which
he is ac-
cused

From the part which his father Philip and himself acted in the affairs of Greece, his history has been transmitted through the impure channels of exaggerated flattery, or malignant envy. The innumerable fictions, which disgrace the works of his biographers, are contradicted by the most authentic accounts of his reign, and inconsistent with those public transactions, which concurring authorities confirm. In the present work, it seemed unnecessary to expatiate on such topics, since it is less the business of history to repeat, or even to expose errors, than to select and impress useful truths. An author, ambitious of attaining that purpose, can seldom indulge the language of general panegyric. He will acknowledge, that Alexander's actions were not always blameless; but, after the most careful examination, he will affirm, that his faults were few in number, and resulted from his situation rather than from his character.

resulted
from his
situation
rather than
from his
character.

Olymp.
cxii. 4.
A. C. 329.

From the first years of his reign, he experienced the crimes of disaffection and treachery, which multiplied, and became more dangerous, with the extent of his dominions, and the difficulty to govern them. Several of his lieutenants early aspired at independence; others formed conspiracies against the life of their master. The first criminals were treated, as we have already seen, with a lenity becoming the generous spirit of Alexander. But when Philotas, the son of Parmenio, and even

Divine Providence, belongs not to the subject of prophane history to inquire. On this subject, the reader may see Bishop Lowth, on Isaiah, xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.

Parmenio ⁴⁹ himself, afforded reason to suspect their fidelity, when the Macedonian youths, who, according to the institution of Philip, guarded the royal pavilion, prepared to murder their sovereign⁵⁰,
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⁴⁹ Philotas was punished in the country of the Arii; Parmenio was put to death in Media. Curtius (l. vi. c. vii. et seqq.), who has given the fullest account of these executions, says, that Philotas deserved not the compassion of his friends: "Amicorum misericordiam non meruit." He leaves it uncertain whether Parmenio fell a sacrifice to his own treason, or to the policy of Alexander. Arrian thinks, that the death of Parmenio was necessary to his master's safety.—Although the evidence of this general's guilt has not been handed down to posterity, Alexander, it is certain, believed him guilty. He who disdained to conquer his enemies by deceit, cannot, without proof, be supposed capable of treacherously assassinating his friends.

⁵⁰ This conspiracy is related by Arrian, l. iv. c. xiii. and xiv. The scene was Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital of Bactria. At a hunting-match, the king, being ready to kill a boar, was anticipated by Hermolaus. To punish the insolence of the youth, Alexander ordered him to be whipped. The disgrace seemed intolerable to Hermolaus and his companions; a conspiracy was formed to destroy Alexander in his sleep. It was discovered by Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. The youths confessed their guilt, and declared that they had been confirmed in their purpose by Callisthenes, the scholar of Aristotle, an arrogant and morose man, who, sheltered by the cloak of philosophy, insolently brow-beat the prince, whom he was bound to respect (Arrian, p. 871.). The conspirators were stoned to death; a punishment common in that age, when persons accused were tried before numerous assemblies, whose indignation frequently burst forth, and destroyed atrocious offenders on the spot, with the first instruments of death that chance offered to their hands. Callisthenes was dragged round the army in chains. Such is the best authenticated account of this affair, concerning which the variations of ancient writers are innumerable. Vid. Arrian, l. iv. c. xiv. Curtius, l. viii. c. viii. Seneca Suasor, i. Justin, l. xv. c. iii. Philostratus, l. viii. c. i. Diodor. Sicul. pp. 356 et 358. Diogen. Laert. in Aristot. Suidas, ad voc. As an example of the injustice done

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he found it necessary to depart from his lenient system, and to hold with a firmer hand the reins of government. Elated by unexampled prosperity, and the submissive reverence of vanquished nations, his loftiness disgusted the pride of his European troops, particularly the Macedonian nobles, who had been accustomed to regard themselves rather as his companions than subjects. The pretensions which sound policy taught him to form and to maintain, of being treated with those external honors ever claimed by the monarchs of the East, highly offended the religious prejudices of the Greeks, who deemed it impious to prostrate the body, or bend the knee, to any mortal sovereign. Yet had he remitted formalities consecrated by the practice of ages, he must insensibly have lost the respect of his Asiatic subjects. With a view to reconcile the

the character of Alexander, I shall insert the passage of Seneca: "Hoc est Alexandri crimen æternum, quod nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quoties quis dixerit, Occidit Persarum multa millia; opponitur, et Callisthenem. Quoties dictum erit, omnia oceano tenuis vicit, ipsum quoque tentavit novis classibus, et imperium ex angulo Thraciæ usque ad orientis terminos protulit; dicetur, sed Callisthenem occidit." Yet this Callisthenes was a traitor, whose writings are mentioned with contempt by Arrian. loc. citat. Polybius, t. ii. pp. 64. 336. et t. iii. p. 45. Cicero ad Quint. Frat. l. ii. epist. xiii. et Longinus, c. iii. p. 14. The patriotism of the Greeks, and the envy of the Romans, could never forgive the transcendant glory of Alexander, which eclipsed their own. In speaking of Philip and his son, even Cicero (de Offic.) says, "Alter semper magnus, alter sæpe turpissimus." See likewise Livy, l. ix. c. xviii. The last mentioned writer (l. ix. c. xvii.) goes out of his way to allege very inconclusive arguments for believing, that had Alexander turned his arms against Italy, he would have certainly been conquered by the Romans.

discordant principles of the victors and vanquished, C H A P.
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he affected an immediate descent from Jupiter Ammon, a claim liberally admitted by the avarice or fears of the Libyan priests, and which, he had reason to expect, could not be very obstinately denied by the credulity of the Greeks and Macedonians, who universally acknowledged that Philip, his reputed father, was remotely descended from the Grecian Jupiter. But the success of this design, which might have entitled him, as son of Jupiter, to the same obeisance from the Greeks, which the Barbarians readily paid him as monarch of the East, was counteracted, at first by the secret displeasure, and afterwards by the open indignation, of several of his generals and courtiers. Nor did the conduct of Alexander tend to extricate him from this difficulty. With his friends, he maintained that equal intercourse of visits and entertainments, which characterized the Macedonian manners; indulged the liberal flow of unguarded conversation; and often exceeded that intemperance in wine, which disgraced his age and country.

On such occasions his guests, or entertainers, enjoyed and abused the indecent familiarity to which they had been accustomed with their kings; but which the temper of Alexander, corrupted by prosperity and flattery, was no longer able to endure. A scene of drunken debauchery, which must appear highly disgusting to the propriety of modern manners, proved fatal to Clitus, who, emboldened by wine, daringly insulted his prince, vilified his noblest actions, and derided his pretensions

Murder of
Clitus.
Olymp.
cxiii. 1.
A. C. 328.

C H A P. to divinity. The king, being likewise intoxicated,
XXXIX. was no longer master of himself, when Clitus, who had been once carried from his presence, returned a second time to the charge, and behaved more insolently than before. In an unhappy moment, Alexander thrust a spear into the breast of his friend⁵¹; but instantly repenting his fury, would have destroyed himself by the same weapon, had he not been prevented by his attendants. The bitterness of his repentance, and the pungency of his remorse, which neither flattery could soften, nor sophistry appease⁵², rendered his life burdensome, and his actions inconsistent. At times, he assumed the Persian dress and ornaments; displayed the pomp of Oriental despotism; employed, and often preferred, the Barbarians; and, in several passages of his reign, this successful, but unhappy, conqueror appears to have been beset with flatterers, surrounded by conspirators, adored by the

⁵¹ Montesquieu, who (Voltaire only excepted) is the most distinguished modern apologist of Alexander, says, "Il fit deux mauvaises actions; il brula Persepolis et tua Clitus." (*Esprit des Loix*, l. x. c. xiv.) The story of the burning of Persepolis we have already refuted. The death of Clitus, Aristobulus, cited by Arrian, ascribes entirely to the insolence and folly of Clitus himself, and totally exculpates Alexander. But Arrian observes, like a philosopher, that Alexander was justly blameable in allowing himself to be overcome by drunkenness and anger. Arrian, p. 84.

⁵² Agis, an Argive poet, and Anaxarchus the Sophist, endeavoured to cure his melancholy. The latter told him, that Justice was described by the ancients as seated near the throne of Jupiter, to indicate that right and wrong depended on the will of kings, all whose actions ought to be held just by themselves and others. This flagitious servility Arrian spurns with indignation, and brands with infamy. Arrian, p. 84.

passive submission of his eastern subjects, and insulted by the licentious petulance of the Greeks and Macedonians. C H A P. XXXIX.

The indignation or jealousy of the latter tinged the fairest of his actions with dark and odious colors. About a year before his death, a scene was transacted at Opis on the Tigris, which shows the difficulties of his situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them. Having assembled the Macedonian troops, he declared to them his pleasure, that such as felt themselves unable, through age or infirmities, to undergo the fatigues of war, should be honorably discharged from the service, and safely conducted to their respective provinces. This proposal, which ought to have been accepted with gratitude, was heard with disgust. The soldiers reflected, that the army had recently increased by an accession of thirty thousand Barbarians, armed and accoutred after the European fashion, trained to the Grecian discipline and exercises, and instructed in the arts and language of the victors. The king, they thought, no longer cared for the service of his veterans, and therefore dismissed them with contempt. The spirit of sedition seized the camp; the Macedonians unanimously demanded their discharge; some adding with scoffs, "That he had no farther use for them; his father Ammon could fight his battles". At these words, the king sprung from the rostrum on which he stood, and commanded the most audacious to be seized by his targeteers, and conducted to immediate execution. This prompt

Difficulties of Alexander's situation, and the magnanimity by which he overcame them.

C H A P. severity appeased the rising tumult. The soldiers
XXXIX. remained motionless and silent, doubtful or terrified. Alexander again mounted the rostrum, and spoke as follows: "It is not my design, Macedonians, to change your resolution. Return home, without hindrance from me. But, before leaving the camp, first learn to know your king and yourselves. My father Philip (for with him it is ever fit to begin) found you, at his arrival in Macedon, miserable and hopeless fugitives; covered with skins of sheep; feeding among the mountains some wretched herds, which you had neither strength nor courage to defend against the Thracians, Illyrians, and Treballi. Having repelled the ravagers of your country, he brought you from the mountains to the plain, and taught you to confide, not in your fastnesses, but in your valor. By his wisdom and discipline, he trained you to arts and civility, enriched you with mines of gold, instructed you in navigation and commerce, and rendered you a terror to those nations, at whose names you used to tremble. Need I mention his conquests in Upper Thrace, or those still more valuable in the maritime provinces of that country? Having opened the gates of Greece, he chastised the Phocians, reduced the Thessalians, and, while I shared the command, defeated and humbled the Athenians and Thebans, eternal foes to Macedon, to whom you had been successively tributaries, subjects, and slaves. But my father rendered you their masters; and having entered the Peloponnese, and regulated at discretion the affairs of that

His own
 account of
 the reign
 of Philip
 and him-
 self.

peninsula, he was appointed, by universal consent, general of combined Greece; an appointment not more honorable to himself, than glorious for his country. At my accession to the throne, I found a debt of five hundred talents, and scarce sixty in the treasury. I contracted a fresh debt of eight hundred; and conducting you from Macedon, whose boundaries seemed unworthy to confine you, safely crossed the Hellespont, though the Persians still commanded the sea. By one victory we gained Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygias, and Lydia. By our courage and activity, the provinces of Cilicia and Syria, the strength of Palestine, the antiquity of Egypt, and the renown of Persia, were added to your empire. Yours now are Bactria and Aria, the productions of India, the fertility of Assyria, the wealth of Susa, and the wonders of Babylon. You are generals, princes, satraps. What have I reserved for myself, but this purple and diadem, which mark my pre-eminence in toil and danger! Where are my private treasures⁵³? Or why should I collect them? Are *my* pleasures expensive? You know that I fare worse than many of yourselves; and have in nothing spared my person. Let him, who dares, compare with me. Let him bare his breast, and I will bare mine. My body, the forepart of my body, is covered with honorable wounds from every sort of weapon. I often watch,

⁵³ It appears from Arrian, that Alexander speaks of these, as distinct from the military fund, and other revenues, employed in paying and rewarding his troops, and in executing such public designs as seemed conducive to the prosperity of the empire.

C H A P. that you may enjoy repose; and, to testify my un-
XXXIX. remitting attention to your happiness, had deter-
 mined to send home the aged and infirm among
 you, loaded with wealth and honor. But since
 you are all desirous to leave me, Go! Report to
 your countrymen, that, unmindful of the signal
 bounty of your king, you intrusted him to the
 vanquished Barbarians. The report, doubtless,
 will bespeak your gratitude and piety⁵⁴.

Affecting
 scene at
 Opis on
 the Tigris.
 Olymp.
 cxiii. 4.
 A. C. 325.

Having thus spoken, he sprang from the ro-
 trum, and hastened to the palace, accompanied
 only by his guards. During two days, none were
 admitted to his presence. On the third, he called
 the Persian nobles of distinction, and distributed
 among them the principal departments of military
 command. He then issued orders, that certain
 bodies of the Barbarian infantry and cavalry should
 be called the royal battalion, and royal cohort,
 and by such other names as commanded greatest
 respect. Apprized of these innovations, the Ma-
 cedonians, who had long remained in confusion be-
 fore the tribunal, afraid to follow Alexander, and
 afraid to allow his retiring unattended, flocked
 around the palace, and deposited their arms at the
 gate, humbly requesting to see their king, and de-
 claring that they would never stir from the place,
 till their tears had moved his compassion. Alex-
 ander came forth, beheld their abasement, and
 wept. The affecting silence, marked by alternate
 emotions of repentance and reconciliation, was
 at length broke by Callines, a man highly esteemed

⁵⁴ Arrian, p. 152, et seqq.

in the cavalry: "Thy Macedonians, O king! are
 grieved that the Persians alone should be called
 thy kindred, and entitled as such to embrace thee,
 while none of themselves are allowed to taste that
 honor." Alexander replied, "From this mo-
 ment you are all my kindred." Callines then
 stepped forward and embraced him; and several
 others having followed the example, they all took
 up their arms, and returned to the camp with
 shouts of joy, and songs.

Of all men (if we believe the concurring testi-
 mony of his historians) Alexander was the most
 mindful of his duty to the gods. To thank heaven
 for the happy issue of this transaction, he celebrated
 a solemn sacrifice, and, after the sacrifice, an en-
 tertainment for the principal of his European and
 Asiatic subjects. The Macedonians were next to
 his person; the Persians next the Macedonians; the
 Grecian priests and Persian magi joined in common
 libations, invoking perpetual concord, and eternal
 union of empire, to the Macedonians and Per-
 sians. Soon afterwards, the invalids, whose dis-
 mission had produced the mutiny, gladly returned
 home. Alexander discharged their arrears, al-
 lowed them full pay until their arrival in Macedon,
 and granted each soldier a gratuity of two hundred
 pounds sterling. He again shed tears at parting
 with upwards of ten thousand men, who had served
 him in so many glorious campaigns; and, as a testi-
 mony of his affectionate concern for their safety,

A festival
 celebrated
 in com-
 mon by
 the Mace-
 donians
 and Per-
 sians.

"Arrian says, "While none of themselves ever tasted that
 honor." ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ἄπὸ τῆς γέγευται ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς. Arrian,
 p. 154.

C H A P. appointed Craterus, whom he loved as his own
XXXIX. life “, to be their conductor.

Division of
 Alexan-
 der's con-
 quests.

Such was the life of this extraordinary man, whose genius might have changed and improved the state of the ancient world. But the spirit of improvement is transient, and demands perpetual efforts; the sources of degeneracy are permanent and innumerable. It seems at first sight to be regretted, that by neglecting to provide for the succession to his throne, he left the field open for those bloody wars among his captains, which long desolated the earth. Yet the difficulties, with which he was himself obliged to struggle, might teach him the impossibility of securing the empire for the infancy of his son Hercules, or the weakness of his brother Aridæus. The principles of royal succession were never accurately ascertained in Macedon; and the camp of a conqueror could not be expected to prove a good school of moderation or justice. The first measure adopted by his generals was, to set aside the natural claim of Hercules, born of the daughter of Darius, and to appoint Aridæus, together with the fruit of Roxana's pregnancy, if she brought forth a son, to be joint heirs of the monarchy. This whimsical destination announced little union or stability. Perdiccas, in virtue of possessing the ring or seal of his deceased master, assumed the regency: the troops and provinces were divided among Antigonus, Ptolemy, Craterus, and other chiefs, who, having been formerly his equals, disdained to remain the inferiors, of

¹ Arrian, p. 155.

Perdiccas. Each general trusted in his sword for an independent establishment; new troops were raised and disciplined; leagues formed and broken; the children and relations of Alexander, who became successively prisoners in different hands, all perished miserably; nor was there any cessation of crimes and calamities⁵⁷, or any permanent settlement of the provinces, until the battle of Issus in Phrygia confirmed Ptolemy in the possession of Egypt, and Seleucus in that of Upper Asia⁵⁸. The issue of the same battle gave Macedon and Greece to Cassander, and Thrace, with several provinces of Lower Asia, to Lyfimachus.

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XXXIX.

A. C. 301.

The great kingdoms of Syria and Egypt, which continued thenceforward, till subdued by the Romans, to be governed by the respective families of Seleucus and Ptolemy, never generally⁵⁹ adopted

Subse-
quent
history of
Egypt and
Syria.

⁵⁷ Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. et xx. passim.

⁵⁸ Arrian, pp. 160 et 164.

⁵⁹ Yet among the higher ranks of men, the Greek language continually gained ground. Before the Christian æra, it was spoken by Jews, Romans, and Africans. It was the language of the learned and polite in Egypt and Syria, as well as in Italy and Carthage. It must have been understood by all ranks of men in Judæa, since the inspired writers employed it in propagating the gospel, which was to be first preached to the Jews. For this universality, the Greek seems to have been indebted, 1. To the innumerable Greek colonies in Europe, Asia, and Africa. 2. To the conquests of Alexander, whose armies and garrisons were continually reinforced from Greece. 3. To the social and agreeable character of the Greeks. 4. To the excellence of the language itself (see above, chapters v. and vi.), whose duration is as wonderful as its extent. The Greek was spoken in the middle of the fifteenth century, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks; so that, from the time of Homer, it subsisted with little variation, as a living tongue, for two thousand and four hundred years.;

C H A P. the language or manners of their Grecian sovereigns. In Egypt, the first successors of Alexander accomplished the commercial improvements planned by that prince; and the kings both of Egypt and of Syria affected, in their magnificent courts, to join the arts and elegance of Greece to the pomp and luxury of the East. But their ostentation was more remarkable than their taste; their liberal characters were effaced by the continual contact of servitude; they sunk into the softness and insignificance of hereditary despots, whose reigns are neither busy nor instructive; nor could the intrigues of women and eunuchs, or ministers equally effeminate, form a subject sufficiently interesting to succeed the memorable transactions of the Grecian republics.

The western division of Alexander's empire conquered by the Romans.

In the history of those kingdoms, the most important event is their conquest by the Romans, who gradually seized all the western spoils of the empire of Alexander, comprehended between the Euphrates and the Hadriatic sea, and successively reduced them into the form of provinces. Greece, which came to be distinguished by the name of Achaia, imparted its literature, its arts⁶⁰, and its

⁶⁰ Notwithstanding the degeneracy of the Greeks under the Macedonian and Roman governments, their country, and particularly Athens, was long regarded as the principal seat of arts and philosophy. But the Greek artists, as well as poets, orators, historians, and philosophers, of later times, were mere imitators, who fell infinitely short of the merit and fame of the great originals. The works of Phidias and Appelles, of Sophocles, Demosthenes, Plato, etc. not those of the Greeks their own contemporaries, were the objects of admiration to Cicero and Seneca, to the writers of the Augustan age, to Pliny, Tacitus, etc. But of this more in the next chapter.

vices, to Italy. The conquest of Macedon freed Rome from the weight of taxes. The acquisition of Syria doubled the revenues of that republic. The subjugation of Egypt doubled the price of commodities in Italy. Yet whatever might be the wealth ⁶¹ of those nations, they are entitled to little regard from posterity, since, from the death of Alexander, they were not distinguished by any invention that either improved the practice of war, or increased the enjoyments of peace.

The feeble mixture of Grecian colonization diffused through the East, was sufficient, indeed, to tinge, but too inconsiderable to alter and assimilate, the vast mass of barbarism. But as the principle of degeneracy is often stronger than that of improvement, the sloth and servility of Asia gradually crept into Greece. That unfortunate country, drained of its most enterprising inhabitants, who either followed the standard, or opposed the arms, of Alexander, was equally insulted by the severity and the indulgence of his successors, since, in either case, the Greeks felt and acknowledged their dependence. Reluctantly compelled to submit to a master, they lost that elevation of character, and that enthusiasm of valor, which had been produced by freedom, nourished by victory, and confirmed by the just sense of national pre-eminence. Their domestic dissensions, by carrying them in great numbers into the service of foreign princes, thereby diffused the knowledge of their

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State of
Greece af-
ter the age
of Alex-
ander.

⁶¹ Of which see an account extracted from the public registers, in Appian. Alexand. in Proem.

C H A P. tactics and discipline through countries far more
XXXIX. extensive and populous than their own; and amidst all their personal animosities, the captains of Alexander, uniformly embracing the maxims of despotism which their master magnanimously disdained, firmly and unitedly resisted and crushed the rising rebellions of the Greeks, whose feeble and ill-conducted efforts for regaining their liberty, only plunged them deeper into servitude. Destitute of immediate and important objects to rouse their activity, the example of their ancestors at length ceased to animate and inspire them. The rewards of merit being withdrawn, men no longer aspired at excellence. The spirit of patriotism evaporated; the fire of genius was extinguished; exertion perished with hope; and, exclusively of the Achæan League⁶², the unfortunate issue of which has been already explained in this work⁶³, Greece, from the age of Alexander, offers not any series of transactions highly memorable in the history of arts or arms.

⁶² The judicious Polybius treats the Achæan league, and other collateral transactions of the Greeks and Macedonians, as episodes in his invaluable history of the progress and aggrandizement of the Roman republic.

⁶³ See vol. ii. p. 149.

C H A P. XL.

State of Literature in the Age of Alexander — Poetry — Music — Arts of Design — Geography — Astronomy — Natural History — Works of Aristotle — Philosophical Sects established at Athens — Decline of Genius — Tenets of the different Sects — Peripatetic Philosophy — Estimate of that Philosophy — Its Fate in the World — Coincidence in the Opinions of Zeno and Epicurus — The Stoic Philosophy — Estimate of that Philosophy — The Epicurean Philosophy — Character of Epicurus — Philosophy of Pyrrho — Conclusion.

IN the latter years of Alexander, literature philosophy, and the fine arts, displayed their brightest charms; yet the source of that health and vigor, from which their beauty flowed, had already begun to fail. The military expeditions of that illustrious conqueror were described, and published after his death, in the authentic and interesting narratives of Ptolemy and Aristobulus¹, who had been the witnesses and companions of his victories. But his extraordinary exploits, and unexampled success, which far eclipsed the imaginary renown of the fabled heroes of antiquity, produced, even in his life-time, a crowd of writers, whose credulity, and love of the marvellous, could only be exceeded by their mean adulation, and

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XL.

State of
literature
in the age
of Alex-
ander.

¹ Arrian, in Proœm.

C H A P. XL. fervile superstition². Exaggeration in matters of fact produced that swelling amplification of style, those meretricious ornaments, and affected graces, which characterized the puerile and frigid compositions of Callisthenes, Onesicritus, and Hegesias³. The false taste of these pretended historians, to whose perverse industry must be ascribed the ridiculous trappings which have too long disfigured the august form of Alexander, was admired and imitated by many of their contemporaries. The contagion infected even the orators; and it is worthy of observation, that the verbose emptiness and bombast of the Asiatic eloquence, was first introduced into Greece, in the age which had applauded the chaste and nervous compositions of Lycurgus, Hyperides, Æschines, and Demosthenes⁴. So true it is, that in every country where the human genius has attained its highest point of perfection, a principle of degeneracy naturally carries things in a contrary direction; because those who are incapable of excellence, still covet distinction, and despairing to equal their predecessors in the beauties of truth and nature, have recourse to false conceits and artificial refinements.

Poetry.

Under the Macedonian government, Greece produced not any original genius in the serious

² Lucian de Scribend. Histor.

³ Strabo, l. xix. p. 446.

⁴ Dionys. Halicarn. de Structurâ Oration. Longinus de Sublim. Cicero de Orator. et de Clar. Orator. passim.

kinds of poetry. The tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides still kept possession of the theatre. But no lyric, no epic poet appeared, capable to adorn the exploits of Alexander, though that prince, intoxicated with the love of fame, munificently rewarded the ignoble flattery of Agis, Cleon, Chærilus, and other contemptible encomiasts; who corrupted his heart, without vitiating his judgment, since he declared, that he would rather be the Therfites of Homer, than the Achilles of Chærilus⁵. Yet in the same age Philemon, Antiphanes⁶, Lycon⁷, above all, the Athenian Menander, carried comedy to the highest perfection which it ever attained in any nation of antiquity. During the republican form of government, the institutions and character of the Greeks were extremely unfavorable to this species of writing. The licentious turbulence of democracy generally converted their attempts at wit and humor into petulance and buffoonery. The change of government and manners, requiring due respect to the rules of propriety and the dictates of caution, improved their discernment, and gradually made them sensible to that refined ridicule, where more is meant than said, and to those more interesting, because juster, delineations of character, which distinguished the comic strains of Philemon and Menander⁸.

Improve-
ment of
comedy.

⁵ Acro. ad Horat. Art. Poet. v. 357. Curtius, l. viii. c. v.

⁶ Athenæus, l. xiii. p. 555.

⁷ Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

⁸ Vid. Plut. Comp. Aristoph. et Menand.

C H A P.

XL.

Music.

Alexander, during his early youth, took delight in dramatic entertainments. Theſſalus was his favorite actor, but Athenadorus was more approved by the public. To Athenadorus, the magistrates, who, according to the Grecian custom, were appointed to decide the pretensions of rival candidates for theatrical fame, adjudged the prize of merit. The young hero declared, that this decision gave him more pain than he would have felt at the loss of his inheritance⁹. The musicians Timotheus¹⁰ and Antigenides¹¹ still displayed the wonderful effects of their art; but as the severity of education and manners continually relaxed in all parts of Greece, we find that music, originally destined to purify and exalt the mind, was in later times universally employed to seduce and inflame the passions¹².

Arts of
design.

The arts of design, painting, sculpture, and architecture, appeared in their highest lustre in the age of Philip and Alexander, both which princes had no less taste to judge¹³, than munificence to reward them. The eastern expedition of the latter introduced, or at least greatly multiplied, in Greece, those precious and durable gems, which thenceforth exhibited some of the finest specimens of Grecian ingenuity. The skill and taste of

⁹ Plut. Orat. ii. de Fortun. Alexand.

¹⁰ Hephæst. de Metr.

¹¹ Plut. Orat. de Fortun. Alexand.

¹² Aristot. Politic. l. viii. c. vi.

¹³ Judicium subtile videndis artibus. Hor. Ep. l. ii. Ep. i. v. 242.

Pyrgoteles were distinguished in this valuable, though minute art¹⁴. He enjoyed the exclusive honor of representing the figure of Alexander on gems, as did Lyfippus of casting it in bronze, and Apelles of painting it in colors¹⁵. Lyfippus was justly admired for bringing back the art to a closer study, and nearer imitation, of nature, without yielding to his predecessors in ideal beauty¹⁶. We have already mentioned his twenty-one equestrian statues of the Macedonian guards, slain in the battle of the Granicus. He is said to have made six hundred and ten figures in bronze¹⁷; a number which, if not greatly exaggerated, would prove his facility of working to have far surpassed that of all statuaries, ancient or modern. The numerous list of painters, contemporary with Apelles, indicates an extraordinary demand for their art; since no profession, that is not gainful, will ever be very generally followed¹⁸. The most celebrated of these artists were Amphion and Asclepiodorus¹⁹, whom Apelles acknowledged as his superiors in some parts of composition; Aristides the Theban, who was inimitable in expression²⁰; and Protogenes of Rhodes, whom Aristotle exhorted to

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XL.

Lyfippus.

Apelles
and other
contempo-
rary artists.

¹⁴ Plin. l. vii. c. xxxvii. et Plutarch. in Alexand.

¹⁵ Vid. Plin. edit. Berolin. i. 221. iii. 217 — 228.

¹⁶ Plin. iii. 194, et seqq.

¹⁷ The Sieur Falconet, who made the famous statue of Peter the Great, thinks the thing impossible, and gives a different meaning to the words of Pliny. See his observations on the passage, in his translation of the books of Pliny relative to the arts. Vol. ii. Laufanne.

¹⁸ Plin. iii. 222.

¹⁹ Idem, iii. 226.

²⁰ Idem, iii. 215 — 225.

C H A P. XL. paint the immortal exploits of Alexander ²¹. The inferior branches of the art, if not first cultivated in that age, were then carried to perfection. Pyreicus ²² confined himself to subjects of low life, and Antiphilus ²³ to caricatures, which the Greeks called Grylli. The theory and practice of painting was explained in many works, the loss of which is much to be regretted ²⁴.

Works of
Apelles.

Amidst the great multitude of artists, and writers on art, all acknowledged the pre-eminence of Apelles, whose works were innumerable, and each sufficient to establish his fame ²⁵. His picture of Alexander, grasping a thunderbolt, was sold to the temple of Ephesian Diana for four thousand pounds. His Venus Anadyomené was damaged by accident; none would venture to restore the parts that had been effaced: so that the injury of the picture contributed to the glory of the artist. The model of this Venus was the beautiful Campaspé, the favorite mistress of Alexander. The sensibility of Apelles was too deeply penetrated with the charms which he so successfully expressed. Alexander was no sooner acquainted with his passion, than, in the language of Pliny, he made him a present, not only of Campaspé, but of his own affection, too little respecting the feelings of the beloved object, at her degradation

²¹ He exhorted him to paint them "propter æternitatem rerum." Plin. *ibid.*

²² Plin. *iii.* 226.

²³ *Idem*, *iii.* 229.

²⁴ *Idem*, *ibid.*

²⁵ Plin. *iii.* 222, et seqq.

from being the mistress of a king, to become the possession of a painter. Yet this celebrated artist, who enjoyed other striking proofs of his master's partiality and friendship, lived on good terms with his brethren. With the frankness of his age and nation, he assumed the merit which belonged to him, and freely asserted, that none of his competitors could imitate the gracefulness²⁶ of his attitudes and figures. But in some other branches of the art, he acknowledged himself inferior to several of his contemporaries. The desire of seeing the works of Protogenes carried him to Rhodes. He there found a rival not altogether unworthy to alarm his jealousy. But instead of yielding to the dictates of this unworthy passion, he drew Protogenes from obscurity; raised the price of his pictures; and taught the Rhodians, who undervalued the same talents in their fellow-citizen, which they admired in a stranger, to acknowledge and respect his merit²⁷.

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Soon after the death of Alexander, painting and the kindred arts ceased²⁸. By this expression, Pliny means not, that they ceased to be cultivated, but to make farther progress; since neither the scholars of Apelles and Lyfippus, nor those who came after them, were capable to reach the glory of their predecessors. The Greek kings of Egypt and Syria seem to have bent their attention rather

Decline of
the arts
after the
death of
Alexander.

²⁶ "Deesse iis unam Venerem dicebat quam Græci charita vocant; cetera omnia contigisse; sed hæc solâ sibi neminem parem." Plin. 222, et seqq.

²⁷ Plin. ibid.

²⁸ "Cessavit deinde ars." Plin. ibid.

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to literature, than to the arts. But, in both, the schools of Alexandria and Seleucia never aspired beyond the humble merit of imperfectly imitating those of Greece. In proportion to its neighbourhood to that country, the arts took firmer root in Alexandria than in Seleucia; and, from the same circumstance, they seem to have flourished longer and more abundantly in the little principalities of Pergamus and Bithynia, than in the wealthy kingdoms of Syria and Egypt²⁹.

Geogra-
phy.

The expedition of Alexander contributed to the improvement of the sciences, both natural and moral. His marches were carefully measured by Diognetes and Beton. Other geometers³⁰ were employed to survey the more remote parts of the countries which he traversed; and the exact description of his conquests, which, from these and other materials, he took care to have compiled by men of approved integrity and abilities, gave a new form to the science of geography³¹.

Astrono-
my.

After the conquest of Babylon, Alexander eagerly demanded the astronomical observations, which had been carefully preserved in that ancient capital above nineteen centuries. They remounted twenty-two hundred and thirty-four years beyond the Christian æra. By order of Alexander, they were faithfully transcribed, and transmitted to

²⁹ Winkelmann, Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums, p. 711, et seqq.

³⁰ Strabo, l. ii. p. 47.

³¹ Cassini sur l'Origine de l'Astronomie, etc. Académ. des Sciences, t. viii. p. 13.

Aristotle³², who was probably prevented by his infirm state of health from accompanying his pupil to the East; or who, perhaps, voluntarily preferred a philosophical retirement in Athens, to the glory of attending the conqueror of the world.

Natural
history.

Nor was this the only present to his preceptor, by which Alexander displayed at once his gratitude and love of science. Natural history was peculiarly indebted to his curiosity and munificence. At the expense of near two hundred thousand pounds, an expense equivalent to a far larger sum in the present age, he collected many rare productions of nature in different countries of Asia, and particularly that amazing variety of animals³³, which Aristotle has described with such inimitable precision³⁴ in his work on that subject.

Moral
know-
ledge.

But whatever obligations natural knowledge owed to Alexander, it would seem that the moral sciences were not less benefited by his discoveries and conquests³⁵. The study of human nature must have been greatly enlarged by such a wide survey of manners, institutions, and usages; nor was this

³² Porphy. apud Simplicium, in Aristot. de Cælo, l. ii.

³³ Plin. l. viii. c. xvi.

³⁴ See the admirable criticism on Aristotle's History of Animals, by Buffon, vol. i.

³⁵ The arts and sciences not only flourished in Alexander's time; they flourished, says Plutarch, δια Αλεξάνδρον. "He was the efficient cause of this effect." The passage which follows, Κερπών μὲν γὰρ εὐδορίαν, etc. should be studied by all princes who aspire to glory; a glory greater than power can give; more extensive and more permanent than conquest can confer.

C H A P. advantage, perhaps, confined to those who per-
XL. formed the expedition, whose works have unfortu-
 nately perished; since the moral and political treatises of Aristotle discover not only more method in his reasonings, but a more copious fund of facts on which to reason, than the writings of all his predecessors together, not excepting those of the travellers Xenophon and Plato.

The greatest part of the works of Aristotle were doubtless composed before the Macedonian conquest; yet it is not improbable that this extraordinary man, whose industry was equal to his genius, continually retouched and improved them; and it cannot be imagined that the rich harvest of facts and observations collected by his learned friends who accompanied Alexander, would be overlooked by a philosopher, who seems not only ambitious to eclipse his predecessors and contemporaries, but solicitous to leave no gleanings of fame to be acquired by his scholars and successors.

Works of
Aristotle.

“Aristotle,” says Lord Bacon³⁶, “thought, like the Ottoman princes, that he could not reign secure, unless he destroyed all his brethren;” nor was his literary ambition more exclusive than exorbitant. He aspired to embrace the whole circle of the arts and sciences, and professed to explain whatever can be known concerning the moral, as well as the material, world. Not satisfied with extending his empire to the utmost verge of intellect, he boldly attempts questions beyond all human knowledge, with the same confidence that his

³⁶ De Augm. Scientiarum, l. iii. c. iv.

pupil entered on a battle. But having to contend with enemies more stubborn than the Persians, his rashness was less successful than that of Alexander.

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He divided philosophy into contemplative and practical. The contemplative or abstract philosophy, to which he first gave the name of metaphysics³⁷, is obscure throughout, often unintelligible, still more chimerical, but far less agreeable, than that of his master Plato. It comprehended not only the examination of those abstract ideas, *existence*, *substance*, *quality*, *genus*, *species*, &c. which were so long and so uselessly tortured by the perverse industry of the schoolmen, but the general doctrines concerning mind or spirit, particularly the mind of the Deity. The human soul is treated in a separate work; in which it must be acknowledged, that Aristotle has made new names, rather

His philosophy.

³⁷ By some writers it is supposed, that this title was bestowed on the fourteen books of Aristotle, immediately following his Physics, by Andronicus of Rhodes, a Peripatetic philosopher in the age of Augustus, who published the first complete edition of Aristotle's works. From that time, the various subjects treated in these fourteen books were conceived as constituting one branch of science. Aristotle had divided philosophy into speculative and practical. The first comprehended metaphysics, which examined the general properties of being, and the essence of things separate from matter; physics, which examined the nature of material substances, and the human soul; and mathematics, which examined certain properties of body, abstracted from body. The practical philosophy of Aristotle, which was intended to regulate the intellectual and moral operations of men, comprehended logic, under which he seems to have included rhetoric and criticism; and morals, including oeconomica and politics. See Strabo, p. 609; and Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

C H A P. than new discoveries; and the doctrine of the im-
XL. mortality is no where so fully elucidated by this philosopher, as it had been by Plato.

Physics.

The natural philosophy of Aristotle deserves the name of metaphysic, in the modern sense of that word, since he explained the laws of the universe, by comparing abstract ideas, not by observation and experience. When he descends to particulars, he betrays more ignorance concerning the motions and magnitudes of the heavenly bodies, than many of his predecessors. With the anatomy of man and other animals, he was well acquainted, considering the gross errors which generally prevailed in the age in which he lived. Chemistry was not yet invented. Since the introduction of the ideal philosophy, men had ceased to *observe* nature; it could not therefore be expected that they should *imitate* her operations, and examine her by the test of experiment. In mathematics, Aristotle appears to have been less versed than his predecessors, Pythagoras and Plato; although, in the invention of the art of syllogism, he displays a perseverance of mental energy, which, had it been directed to the mathematical sciences, might have produced the greatest discoveries.

Logic.

The scepticism of his contemporary Pyrrho, and still more the captious sophistry of the Eristics, might naturally engage Aristotle to examine with more attention than his predecessors, the nature of truth, and the means of defending it against the attacks of declamation and the snares of subtilty.

He undertook, therefore, the arduous task, of resolving all reasoning into its primary elements, and of deducing from thence the rules by which every conclusion must be connected with its premises, in order to render it legitimate. This bold design he accomplished; having erected, on a single axiom, a larger system of abstract truths, all fortified by demonstration, than were ever invented and perfected by any other man. The axiom from which he sets out, and in which the whole terminates, is, that whatever is predicated of a genus, may be predicated of every species and individual contained under it. But the application of this axiom is for the most part sufficiently obvious, without the rules of Aristotle; whose logic, how successful soever it might prove against the subtilties of the Sophists and *Eristics*, contributes little to the formation of the understanding, and nothing to the judicious observation of man or nature, on which all useful discoveries must be founded.

From the general wreck of literature, in which many of Aristotle's writings perished³⁸, had nothing been saved but the works above-mentioned, it must be confessed that the preceptor of Alexander would not greatly merit the attention of posterity. In his abstract or metaphysical philosophy, we can only lament vast efforts mis-spent, and great genius misapplied. But, in his critical and moral, and above all, in his political works, we find the same penetrating and comprehensive mind,

His critical
and moral
writings.

³⁸ See the fate of his works carefully related in Bayle's Dictionary, article Tyrannion.

G H A P. the same subtilty of reasoning, and vigor of intellect, directed to objects of great importance and extensive utility. The condition of the times in which he lived, and the opportunities peculiar to himself, conspired with the gifts of nature, and the habits of industry, to raise him to that eminence, which was acknowledged by his contemporaries, and admired by posterity.

His great opportunities of improvement.
A. C. 368.

He was born in the first year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, at Stagira, a provincial city of Macedonia, and educated at the court of Pella, where his father was king's physician. In his early youth, he was sent to Athens, and remained there twenty years an assiduous scholar of Plato, in a city where literature and the fine arts were cultivated with unexampled success, and where the philosophic spirit, though often improperly directed, flourished in the utmost vigor. Selected by the discernment of Philip, to guide and confirm the promising dispositions of his admired son, he returned to his native country, and continued eight years at the Macedonian court. Whatever benefit accrued to Alexander from the instructions of Aristotle, it is certain that the latter derived great advantages from the gratitude of his royal pupil. Of this, several proofs have already occurred; and perhaps it may be ascribed to the munificence of Alexander, that his preceptor was enabled to form a library³⁹, a work of prodigious expense in that age, and in which he could only be rivalled by the Egyptian

³⁹ Strabo.

and Pergamenian kings. But the library of Aristotle was collected for use, not merely for ostentation⁴⁰.

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The last fourteen years of his life he spent mostly at Athens, surrounded with every assistance which men⁴¹ and books could afford him, for prosecuting his philosophical inquiries. The glory of Alexander's name, which then filled the world, ensured tranquillity and respect to the man whom he distinguished as his friend; but after the premature death of that illustrious protector, the invidious jealousy of priests and sophists inflamed the malignant and superstitious fury of the Athenian populace; and the same odious passions which proved fatal to the offensive⁴² virtue of Socrates, fiercely assailed the fame and merit of Aristotle. To avoid the cruelty of persecution, he secretly withdrew himself to Chalcis, in Eubœa. This measure was sufficiently justified by a prudent regard to his personal safety; but lest his conduct should appear unmanly, when contrasted with the firmness of Socrates in a similar situation, he condescended to apologize for his flight, by saying, that he was unwilling, to afford the Athenians a second

His long
residence
at Athens;

and death.
Olymp.
cxiv. 3.
A. C. 322.
Ætat. 63.

4° The Egyptian and Pergamenian kings were lovers rather of books than of learning. They considered a great library as contributing to the superfluous magnificence of royalty. Vid. Galen. Comment. 2. in Hippocrat. de Natur. Hom.

⁴¹ Aristotle probably had many assistants in his philosophical inquiries and compositions. 'Ὁ δὲ σοφὸς, καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν αἰ, δύναται θεωρεῖν βελτίον δ' ἰσῶς συνεργὸς ἔχων. *Ethic. Nicom.* l. x. c. vii.

42 Virtutem incolumem odimus,

Sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi.

HORACE.

C H A P. opportunity "to sin against philosophy."⁴³ He
XL. seems to have survived his retreat from Athens
 only a few months; vexation and regret probably
 shortened his days⁴⁴.

Philoso-
 phical sects
 established
 at Athens.

Olymp.
 cxx.

Notwithstanding the occasional persecutions of
 speculative men, philosophy had fixed its roots too
 deeply in Athens, to be extirpated by the tempo-
 rary phrenzy of a capricious populace. Theo-
 phrastus calmly succeeded Aristotle in the Peripa-
 ton, or walk of the Lyceum, from which place
 their followers retained the name of Peripatetics⁴⁵.
 At the same time, Zeno taught *virtue* in the Stoa,
 or Portico, from which his disciples derived the
 appellation of Stoics⁴⁶. Epicurus explained *plea-*
sure in those well-known gardens, which were
 distinguished by his name⁴⁷. The followers of
 Diogenes, the Cynic, still assembled in the Cyno-
 sarges⁴⁸; Speusippus and Xenocrates succeeded
 Plato in the Academy⁴⁹; and even Pyrrho, the
 Elian, the founder of the sceptical sect, who had
 accompanied Alexander in his eastern expedition,
 and shared the munificence of that prince⁵⁰,

⁴³ Ἀμαρτάνειν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν. Ælian, l. iii. c. vi.

⁴⁴ Laert. l. v. in Aristot. et Auctor. citat. apud Brucker.
 Histor. Philosoph. vol. i. p. 787, et seqq.

⁴⁵ The common opinion, that the followers of Aristotle were
 called Peripatetics, ἐκ τῆς Περιπατεῖν, "ex deambulatione,"
 adopted by Cicero and others, is refuted by the authors cited by
 Brucker, v. i. p. 787.

⁴⁶ Laert. vii. §.

⁴⁷ Cicero ad Attic. l. ii. epist. 24.

⁴⁸ Idem, ibid.

⁴⁹ Suidas in Speusipp. Laert. l. iv. c. γ, et seqq.

⁵⁰ Sextus Empiric. Pyrrhon Hypotyp. l. i. c. iii.

became

became, after the death of his benefactor, a citizen of Athens⁵¹. Thus did that illustrious city, after the extinction of its freedom, and of its military glory, still maintain its pre-eminence in literature, philosophy, and the fine arts. In the age of Alexander, Athens, as the seat of learning, assumed that precise form, which it exactly preserved seven centuries, till the destructive invasion of Greece by Alaric, and the Goths⁵². For it is worthy of observation, that the philosophers, who, during this long interval, perpetuated the several sects, submissively followed the opinions of their respective masters. Soon after the age of Alexander, genius disappeared; literature and the arts alike degenerated; no new sect arose; few innovations, and those unsuccessful, were attempted; and thus the period, which has been assigned for the termination of the present work, seems to have bounded the progress of the human mind; whether, according to the observation of Longinus, because liberty is the best nurse of genius, and singularly adapted, by cherishing the emulation and the hopes, to excite the energies, of those born to true excellence⁵³; or because, in the words of a great philosopher, "there is a pitch of exaltation, as well as of depression, to which when any nation has attained, its affairs necessarily return in an opposite direction."

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A. D. 396.
Decline of
genius.

⁵¹ Laert. in Pyrrhon.

⁵² See Gibbon's History of the Roman Empire, vol. v. c. xxx.

⁵³ Long. de Sublim. sect. 44.

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Tenets of
the differ-
ent sects.

Tenets of
the Peri-
patetic
sect.

Instead of examining this speculative question, which the world is perhaps still too young to enable us with accuracy to determine, it will better fur the design of a historical work, to explain the tenets of the different schools of philosophy, then first established in Athens; briefly to relate their various success in the world; and to inquire, with becoming modesty, how far those artificial systems of happiness correspond with the natural dictates of unperverted sentiment, and impartial reason.

Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetic school, recognised, like Socrates and Plato, the dignity of human nature, and placed the chief happiness of man, not in the agreeableness of his passive sensations, but in the proper exercise⁵⁴ of his intellectual and moral powers. According to Aristotle, the habit of this exercise, directed by right reason, constituted the highest excellence of man, in the same manner as the excellence of other animals, and even of the vegetable and mineral kingdoms, resulted from the perfection of those qualities, by which they are respectively distinguished. Yet, as man is a compound being, consisting of mind and matter, it seemed evident that his well-being must in some measure depend on the condition of his body, and on the means necessary to maintain this

⁵⁴ The Stoics adopted, on this occasion, both the sentiments and the language of Aristotle. *Ὁ μὲν φιλοδοξῶς ἀλλοτρίαν ἐνεργεῖαν ἰδίον ἀγαθὸν ὑπολαμβάνει· ὁ δὲ φιληδονὸς ἰδίαν πείσιν· ὁ δὲ γὰρ ἔχων ἰδίαν πράξιν.* M. Anton. vi. 51. "The vain-glorious man places his own happiness in the action of others; the voluptuous man, in his passive sensations; the wise man, in his own active exertions."

inferior part of his nature in its most perfect state. C H A P.

The absence of disease and infirmity, and the XL.

proper constitution of all our bodily organs, are things desirable not only on their own account, but as furnishing us with the opportunity and the means to exert those mental energies, from which our principal felicity results. In the same manner, the goods of fortune, wealth, friends, and other external advantages, are desirable not only as contributing to the supply of our bodily wants, but as the instruments through which a wise man is enabled to exercise his virtues, and accomplish his purposes. Amidst great calamities⁵⁵, Aristotle required not that perfect self-command to which some philosophers pretended. He allowed a moderate degree of perturbation, as suitable to the weakness of human nature. In the present constitution of things, he thought a certain sensibility of passion not only excusable, but necessary; since resentment enabled us to repel injuries⁵⁶, and grief for past misfortunes made us vigilant to prevent the evils that might otherwise overtake us. But although this great philosopher acknowledged the influence of fortune in human affairs, and thought it impossible for the firmest of men to remain unmoved amidst the miseries of Priam⁵⁷; he

⁵⁵ Ουτε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας κινήσεται ραδίως, ὅτε ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἀτυχημάτων, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μεγάλων καὶ πολλῶν. *Ethic. Nicom.* l. i. c. x.

⁵⁶ To bear insults tamely, was regarded as highly ungraceful, and becoming only the character of a slave. Τὸδε προσηλακίζουσιν ἀνεχεσθαι ἀνδραποδῶδες. *Ethic. Nicom.* iv. 2.

⁵⁷ Ἐν τυχαίῃς Πριάμικαῖς. *Aristot. Ethic. Nicom.* p. 40.

H A P. XL. maintained, however, that we ourselves were the principal architects of our own happiness. The attainment of this great object depended far more on our own thoughts and reflections, which were ever and intimately present with us, and on the constitution of our own minds, which were in some measure subject to our own direction and control, than on our external situation and circumstances, which only affected us by accident, and over which we commonly enjoyed but little power, and sometimes none. The perfection of our virtue, which was entirely our own work, shone forth with peculiar lustre amidst the gloom of unmerited calamity. When we bore it with becoming patience, we rejoiced in our own fortitude; and this inward pleasure always alleviated the smart of external wounds. Affaulted by the most terrible afflictions, a wise man would not deserve indeed the epithet of *happy*; yet neither could he be called *miserable*, since he would still disdain to commit any thing odious or base. Philosophy, which professes to teach us the art of enjoying life, must therefore disregard such circumstances as we can neither govern nor change, and confine itself to that part which we can regulate and control. It must withdraw our attention from external objects, and fix it on ourselves⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ In explaining the Aristotelian philosophy, the learned reader will perceive that I have endeavoured to translate, as literally as possible, the energetic expressions of its author. The outline has been traced with equal perspicuity and elegance by Dr. Adam Smith, in his Account of the Systems of ancient Philosophy, annexed to his admired Theory of Moral Sentiments. The design of my work obliges me to treat the subject more particularly.

To know himself, man must know the powers with which he is endowed. Of those, we possess some in common with other animals⁵⁹, and others in common even with the inanimate parts of nature⁶⁰. In none of these, it is evident, can the proper employment of man consist, but rather in such faculties as, being peculiar to himself, distinguish and ennoble humanity. These characteristic excellences of our species all refer, either to the understanding, or to the will⁶¹; the first possesses reason essentially in itself, the second is capable of being combined and assimilated with this divine principle. From the two powers of the understanding and the will are respectively derived two classes of virtues, the intellectual and the moral. Sagacity, penetration, intelligence, wisdom, are virtues of the understanding; gentleness, temperance, fortitude, justice, are virtues of the heart. The former class consists in the proper disposition and habit⁶² of the intellectual part of the soul; the latter, in the proper disposition and habit of the desires and affections, which being formed subordinate to reason, and capable of listening to its dictates, then only perform their duty, when, like obedient subjects, they cheerfully observe the commands of their sovereign. The intellectual

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Division of
the mental
powers.

Intellectual and
moral
virtues.

⁵⁹ The *τα αισθητικον*, the powers of sensation, etc.

⁶⁰ The *το θρεπτικον*, etc. the powers of nutrition, etc.

⁶¹ I have ventured to use this word to express the *το θρεπτικον* of Aristotle, the seat of the appetites, affections, and passions.

⁶² *Επαινεμεν δε και τον σοφον κατα την εξεν των εξεων δε τας επαινετας, αρετας λεγομεν.* Ethic. Nicom. l. i. c. ult.

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virtues depend chiefly on education and exercise; the moral proceed entirely from habit, from which they derive their name ⁶³. It is by practising

⁶³ *ἥθικος, ἔθος*; *moralis, mos*. The same holds not in English. The words *ἀρετή* in Greek, and *virtus* in Latin, are of very general import, denoting any praise-worthy disposition, habit, or quality, of body or mind intellectual or moral. The indeterminate use of these words has occasioned strange confusion. The late ingenious Mr. Hume, in his Inquiry into the Principles of Morals, which, in other respects, he justly considers as the most valuable of his writings enters into a large deduction, to prove that all virtues are praised and recommended as useful or agreeable. These qualities constitute, according to him, the proper definition, the very essence of virtue; and all other distinctions are frivolous. To justify this paradox, he alleges the authority of Greek poets and philosophers, who apply the term *virtue* to bodily strength or address, to memory, judgment, sagacity, etc. as well as to justice, humanity, charity. This indeed is true; but the Greeks distinguished between the virtues of the body, and those of the mind; and the mental virtues they divided into the intellectual and moral. Aristotle characterizes moral virtue as a voluntary habit, and says, that moral approbation is excited only by the praise-worthy habit of such affections and actions as originate in ourselves, and depend on no extrinsic cause. See Aristot. Magn. Moral. l. i. c. xv. and his commentator, Andronicus Rhodius, p. 89. and the Ethics of Nicomachus throughout. Mr. Hume, therefore, is justly reproved by Dr. Beattie, for saying, "that the ancient moralists made no material distinction among the different species of mental endowments and defects." See Hume's Inquiry, vol. ii. p. 387. But although the ancients, and Aristotle in particular, make very material distinctions between moral and intellectual virtues, yet, in his zeal for the good cause, Dr. Beattie appears to me to go too far in asserting, "that though they considered both the moral and intellectual virtues as necessary to the formation of a perfect character, and sometimes dis-couraged of both in the same treatise or system, yet they deemed the latter valuable only as means to qualify us for the former, and insignificant, or even odious, when they failed to answer this end." See Essay on Truth, p. 425. First of all, according to the Greek moralists, it is impossible ever to treat of the moral virtues as dis-

justice, that we become just; by practising temperance, that we become temperate; by practising courage, that we become courageous. Hence the wonderful power of legislation, and early institution, by which the Cretans, the Spartans, and some other nations, were honorably distinguished among the rest of mankind; and by which such states as shall wisely imitate their example, may still reach the same elevation of character, and still acquire the same renown: "For it is not a matter of little moment, how we are accustomed in youth; much depends on that, or rather all."

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The moral virtues, it is evident, are not implanted by nature; for that which is established by nature, cannot be essentially changed by custom. Heavy bodies, which, by the law of nature, descend, cannot be habituated to mount upwards; nor can fire, which naturally ascends, be taught by habit to move in a contrary direction. The same holds concerning all the other laws by which nature governs her works. Our senses, and other natural gifts, have the *power* of performing their several functions, before they exert it; and they retain this power, although we should allow them to remain inactive. But virtue, like all practical arts, can be acquired and preserved by practice

Moral virtue neither natural nor contrary to nature.

tinct from the intellectual, since the former could not exist without a mixture of reason or intellect. *Ethic. Nicom. passim; and particularly, l. iii. c. ii.* Secondly, The intellectual virtues were so far from being esteemed only as means to qualify us for the moral, that Aristotle considers the exercise of the former totally independent of the latter, as constituting our highest perfection and happiness. *Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.*

C H A P. only. It is neither natural, nor contrary to nature. We are born capable to attain it, but the invaluable attainment must be made and perfected by habit. Yet the greater part of those who aspire to this inestimable prize, have recourse to vain speculations, flattering themselves that this is philosophy. Their conduct resembles that of a patient, who should carefully listen to his physician, but do nothing which he prescribed. By such medicine it is not possible to cure the disorders of the body, nor by such philosophy, those of the mind.

wherein
it consists.

Virtue, as a matter of practice, cannot be reduced to metaphysical precision. It is to be observed, however, that all the virtues depend on the propriety of the affections from which they arise; and that this propriety consists in a certain point or centre, from which the deviations may be innumerable. The vices, therefore, many of which are without names, are far more numerous than the virtues. In general, virtue may be conceived to lie in a mean betwixt the extremes of too much and too little; and this health of the mind resembles bodily health and strength, which are destroyed by excess or defect of nourishment and exercise. Thus, to fear every thing is cowardly; to fear nothing is audacious; courage requires that we should fear only such objects as are truly formidable, and only in that degree in which they ought to be feared. In the same manner, he who is too much affected by objects of pleasure, and

seizes every opportunity to enjoy them, is called C H A P.
 intemperate; he who is too little affected by such XL.
 objects, and refuses every opportunity to enjoy
 them, may be called insensible. Temperance
 teaches us to pursue only such pleasures as we ought,
 at proper times, in proper places, and on proper
 occasions. According to the same view of things,
 generosity lies in the middle between avarice and
 profusion; modesty, between pride and diffidence;
 mildness, between irascibility and softness; magni-
 ficence, between ostentation and parsimony; po-
 pularity, between forbidding disdain and officious
 adulation; in a word, every virtue consists in a
 mean, equally remote from two vicious ex-
 tremes “.

Considered as the quality of an action, virtue
 consists in the propriety of that affection from
 which the action proceeds; when the affection is
 neither too strong nor too weak, but has precisely
 that degree of strength, which right reason teaches
 us to approve. As the quality of an action, virtue
 consists, therefore, in mediocrity; but as the
 quality of a person, it consists in the habit of this
 mediocrity, since, in judging persons and cha-
 racters, we regard not particular acts and feelings,
 but such acts and feelings as are frequent and
 habitual. We may perform many virtuous actions,
 without being virtuous men. The most worthless
 of human kind sometimes indulge the pro-
 pensity to pity and humanity. But whoever
 acts right, merely from feeling, will also, from

How it
 must be
 attained.

“ Ethic. Nicom. 1. ii. c. i. et seqq.

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XL.

feeling, more frequently act wrong. The sentiments of nature, which prompt us to take care of our children, to relieve objects in distress, and to perform many important duties of morality, likewise prompt us to gratify the vilest and most brutal of our passions. Besides this, there are many, and those the most important virtues, the exercise of which is not at first attended with pleasure. To support labor, to endure pain, to encounter difficulties and dangers, which wisdom and fortitude, on many occasions, require, are not obviously recommended by any natural desire; nor is the practice of such duties immediately agreeable. It is still less agreeable, in the first instance, to curb and restrain our natural appetites for pleasure, which is the proper office of temperance; nor can that vigilant circumspection, and ever watchful attention to the most remote consequences of our actions, which is essential to the virtue of prudence, be acquired without trouble and care, without many painful efforts and many difficult struggles. Yet it is the nature of all those virtues, as well as of the hardest lessons of justice, patriotism, and friendship, to become, through habit, agreeable; and the only sure test that we have acquired them, is, that they are practised with pleasure. With good reason, therefore, Plato defines education to be the art of teaching men to rejoice and grieve as they ought; for though there be three ends ultimately agreeable, the pleasant, the honorable, and useful; yet honor and utility are likewise pursued as pleasures⁶⁵.

⁶⁵ Ethic. Nicom. l. vii. c. xi. et seqq.

The most extensive part of virtue is employed, therefore, in regulating our desire of pleasure, and aversion to pain. It is also the most difficult; for, as Heraclitus observes, it is harder to combat pleasure than anger. The irascible passions are always moved by some appearance of reason; and, in their most furious excesses, still affect some deference for their sovereign. They often, indeed, mistake his intentions; and, like hasty servants, fly into action, without waiting his last orders. But pleasure passively obeys sensation, without regarding reason at all. The mischief is the more dangerous, being produced by the first object of natural desire; for the love of pleasure is implanted in our frame; the germ expands with our nature; and unless counteracted in due time, becomes engrained in our constitution, every part of which it impregnates and stains. Habit alone can counteract those dangerous propensities of nature. Habit can enable us to reject dishonorable or hurtful pleasures, to prefer honorable or useful pains; for, as the poet Euenus says, “there is a long-continued exercise of attention, which finally becomes nature.”

C H A P.

XL.

The hardest task of moral virtue.

The moral virtues cannot, according to Aristotle, subsist without some mixture of the intellectual;

Intellectual virtues the purest

“Euenus was an elegiac poet of Paros, of whom few fragments remain. The verses translated in the text are.

Φημι πολυχρονιον μελετην εμεναι φιλε, και δη

Ταυτην ανθρωποις τελευτωσαν φυσιν ειναι.

This is better expressed by another Greek proverb: ‘Ελγ βιον αριζον, ηδυν δε αυτον η συνηθεια ποιησει. Plut. Moral. p. 602. “Chuse the best life, and custom will render it agreeable.”

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and most
permanent
source of
happiness.

but the latter may subsist alone and independent; and according to both Aristotle and Plato, the purest and most permanent felicity of which man is susceptible, results from the exercise of his rational powers upon subjects of abstract speculation. The labors of the statesman or general, the exertions of the legislator or patriot, all refer to some end or purpose, the attainment of which may be prevented by fortune, or frustrated by the weakness or wickedness of man. The practice of justice, generosity, temperance, and fortitude, requires many conditions, and supposes a variety of situations, which it is not always in our power to command. The just or generous man must have objects to whom he may distribute his justice or generosity; he must possess the means by which to exercise those virtues, which all participate of frail mortality; since, though directed by prudence, they are impelled by passion, and result from the exigences of our present corporeal state. But the energies of contemplative wisdom are pure and simple, like the intellectual source from which they spring. Not subservient to remote purposes, or contingent ends, they are immediately agreeable on their own account; and, on every side, round and complete in themselves. If the proper exercise of every member or faculty enlivens the sense of our existence, and thereby yields us a perception of pleasure, how wonderfully delightful must be the exercise of the intellect, which renders us sensible of the divine principle within us! To live according to nature, is to live according to the

noblest part of our nature, which, doubtless, is the mind. To live thus, is the life of a god; for, human as we are, we ought not, according to the vulgar exhortation, to regard only human things; but, though mortal, strive to put on immortality⁶⁷; assured that, as the mind chiefly forms the man, he who most cultivates his mind, is the best disposed in himself, and the most agreeable to the gods⁶⁸.

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XL.

Such is the philosophy of Aristotle, lofty sometimes, and imposing, but in general, less erect and independent than that of Socrates and Plato, who preceded him; less proud and boastful than that of the Stoics, or even the Epicureans, by whom he was followed; and on the whole, perhaps, as unexceptionable as that of any moralist ancient or modern.

Estimate of
Aristotle's
philoso-
phy.

It is commonly observed, that Aristotle attained the same authority over the opinions of men, which his pupil Alexander acquired over their persons. But the empire of Alexander was established in his own lifetime, and perished with himself. That of Aristotle did not commence till more than a thousand years after his decease, and continued several centuries. The Peripatetic school subsisted, indeed, without interruption, at Athens; but the

Its fate in
the world.

⁶⁷ Χρη δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς πάροιθεντας, ἀνθρώπινα φρονεῖν, ἀνθρώπων ὄντα, καὶ θνητὰ τὸν θνητὸν· ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον ἐνδεχέται ἀπαθανατίζειν, καὶ ἅπαντα ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ Ethic. Nicom. l. x. c. vii.

⁶⁸ Ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὰς ἐνεργων καὶ τῶν θεραπειῶν, καὶ διακείμενος ἀρίστα, καὶ θεοφιλεστάτος εἶηκεν εἶναι. Id. l. x. c. viii.

C H A P. XL. Lyceum never attained there any pre-eminence above the Portico and Academy. When philosophy was transplanted to a more splendid theatre in Rome, men of speculation and science generally preferred Plato to Aristotle⁶⁹; while many of the most celebrated characters of the republic enlisted themselves under the banners of Zeno or Epicurus. With the fall of Roman liberty, philosophy, as well as literature and the fine arts, slowly declined; and under the emperors, particularly in the second and third centuries of the Christian æra, the most extravagant of Plato's speculations were the doctrines best adapted to the condition of the times, and to the dark and shadowy minds of Plotinus, Porphyry, Jamblichus, and other contemplative visionaries, distinguished by the appellation of Eclectics, or later Platonists, who possessed the wildness without the fancy, and the subtilty without the genius, of Plato⁷⁰. During the succeeding centuries, the doctrines of Aristotle slowly gained the ascendant; but, as had happened to Plato in an earlier period, the most frivolous part of Aristotle's philosophy was the highest in esteem during the darkness of the middle ages. The decisive boldness of his logic, phisic, and metaphysic, suited the genius of a church which affected to be universal, and the insolence of a man who pretended to be infallible; and, while the useful and

⁶⁹ Cicero, *passim*.

⁷⁰ Besides the works of Brucker and Stanley, the learned reader may consult, on this subject, professor Meiner's *Beytrag über die Neue Platonische Philosophie*. Leipzig, 1782.

practical works of Aristotle were neglected, his speculative philosophy being thus incorporated with the Romish superstition, they long conspired, with astonishing success, to enthrall the human mind.

Zeno and Epicurus pretended, as well as Plato and Aristotle, to deduce their philosophy from experience; but their views of nature are less perspicuous, and less extensive; and their conclusions less convincing, and less reasonable. For the infinite variety of nature, they substituted the narrowness of their own artificial systems; and it will ever be the scandal of this abstract philosophy, that men who boasted following the same path, should have reached such opposite goals; the sect of Zeno having discovered, by all its researches, that pain was not an evil; and the sect of Epicurus, that pleasure was the only good: the Stoics, that virtue alone was truly valuable in itself, and desirable on its own account; the Epicureans, that virtue in itself was really of no value, and merely desirable for the sake of pleasure. Yet, amidst the striking contradictions of these sects, they agreed in speculative pride, loudly asserting, that the philosophy which they respectively taught, was the exclusive road to happiness. Both required from their imaginary sage an absolute command over his passions; and both supposed, that in his present state of existence, he could attain this perfection. Zeno and Epicurus alike rejected the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, as unnecessary to their system; both justified suicide; both boasted of enjoying a felicity equal to that of the gods;

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XL.

Coincidence in the
opinions of
Zeno and
Epicurus.

C H A P. and, in proportion as their principles receded from
XL. truth and nature, and flattered that factitious vanity
 incident to the human heart, they were diffused
 with greater rapidity, more zealously embraced,
 and more obstinately defended ⁷¹.

The stoic
 philoso-
 phy.

In examining by what show of reason, men
 whose wisdom was revered by their contempo-
 raries, could arrive at such extraordinary con-
 clusions, the dignity of *virtue* demands the
 precedence for Zeno. That philosopher af-
 fected, with great accuracy, to examine the na-
 tural propensities of the human race; to observe
 the various changes which they underwent in their
 progress from infancy to manhood; to contemplate
 the effects produced by external causes on our in-
 ternal frame; and, by comparing man with inferior
 animals, to display the illustrious prerogatives which
 he enjoyed, and the high destination which nature
 had assigned him. Self-preservation, he observed,
 was the universal and primary desire of all animals.
 In man, this desire respected his body, and all its
 different members, his mind, and all its different
 faculties; and prompted him to maintain the whole
 fabric of his complex existence in the most perfect
 condition of which it is capable. Nature had
 generally attached a pleasure to the means neces-
 sary for this purpose; but that we desired pleasure
 for the sake of preservation, not preservation for
 the sake of pleasure, he thought evident from the
 first motions and efforts of all animals, tending to

⁷¹ Laert. in Zenon. et Epicur. Cicero de Finibus, l. i, ii, iii.
 Plutarch. de Commun. Concept. contra Stoicos.

prevent dissolution, and preceding any distinct notions of pain or pleasure ⁷².

Although, in the order of time, man perhaps first felt the propensities requisite to the safety of his bodily frame, yet, at a very early period, he showed himself endowed with desires of a different, and more exalted kind. Not to mention the obscure intimations of his love of truth and knowledge during his infant state, in which he applied his senses with great activity to the examination of the objects presented to him, he naturally learned the use of words to express these objects, as well as the notions of his own mind concerning them; and had no sooner made this important acquisition, than he testified an ardent curiosity to extend his knowledge, and to enlarge his acquaintance with the nature, the causes, and dependences of the various classes of beings which he beheld around him. From this love and approbation of what is true and sincere, rather than of the contrary, which he felt to be congenial to his own nature, he readily believed whatever those persons, with whom he conversed, thought proper to communicate to him; a principle which, though the source of innumerable errors and prejudices, served, however, as the only foundation on which his future improvements could be built.

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XL.

Love of truth.

⁷² The principles of the stoical philosophy are explained in Cicero de Finibus, the works of Epictetus, Arrian, Simplicius, and Seneca. In treating of the practical duties of morality, Cicero, in his Offices, chiefly follows the principles of the stoics.

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XL.

Social af-
fection.Universal
system.

In examining the nature and relations of other things, he gradually became sensible of his own. His affections, he felt, carried him beyond his own person, and he derived happiness from the happiness of others, although he received from it no advantage but the pleasure of beholding it. The sentiments of justice, gratitude, and benevolence, he felt to be agreeable to his nature, to be proper and laudable; the contrary sentiments, to be disagreeable to his nature, to be improper and odious. His own good, therefore, was thus pointed out to him, by the original frame of his sentiments, to be intimately connected with the good of his family, his friends, his country, and the great society of mankind, of which he made part. Enlarging his views still farther, he perceived, that every species is relative to the element in which it lives; thus fishes have fins for the water, birds have wings for the air; and that many of these species are mutually connected with, and reciprocally subservient to, each other, while all of them essentially enter into the great plan of nature, and complete the harmony and perfection of that universal system, to the stability of which the order of particular parts, or what, in each species, and in each individual, is called private good, must necessarily be subordinate. Considering the narrowness of human capacity, it is not wonderful that many of the connexions and dependences of this universal system should escape our observation. But if we confine our view to those objects of which we have the clearest apprehension, we shall

find that they all depend on each other, and are united in one scheme or constitution of things. C H A P.
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The individuals of the human race were doubtless formed, not for themselves alone. In the different sexes, the external organization, and still more the inward frame, the correspondence of parts, and still more the sympathy of sentiments, indicate the male and female mutually destined for each other. The naked helplessness of infancy requires the tender cares of a parent. The decrepitude of age loudly demands the kind returns of filial gratitude. In early ages of the world, men, without uniting in small communities, must have fallen a prey to the savages of the desert; and, with the growth of these communities, social affection naturally makes progress; since, with the advancement of arts and civility, the bands which unite us to our country are continually multiplied and strengthened.

In thus contemplating the relations in which he stands, man becomes sensible of the duties required of him. The voice of nature teaches him (for this is her universal law) that the greater good is to be preferred to the lesser, and the good of the many to that of the few. In applying this rule to all the classes of objects submitted to our choice, we live consistently with nature. The goods of the mind, therefore, must be preferred to those of the body; and what is called private interest must yield to that of the public. Even in objects of the same class, the general law must be observed. We must prefer and reject, according

Rules of
duty thence
derived.

C H A P. XL. to the rules of right reason, not according to caprice and fancy. In the primary objects of desire respecting the body, health is to be preferred to strength, and strength to agility; and in the secondary objects respecting this part of our nature, or those which may be employed as instruments to procure bodily pleasures, and ward off bodily pains, such as wealth, power, the good opinion of those with whom we live, and innumerable other circumstances of a similar kind, we must uniformly regulate our conduct by the same great principles of preference and rejection⁷³. In thus appreciating the objects of desire, and when all cannot be obtained, in preferring the most valuable and honorable; in thus appreciating the objects of aversion, and when all cannot be avoided, in rejecting the most hurtful and odious, consist that order and harmony, that just balance of affection, and perfect propriety of conduct, which essentially contains in it whatever is meritorious, laudable, and happy. It is concerning the primary objects of desire, indeed, and the means necessary to attain them, that this propriety of sentiment and action is exercised; but as those to whom we are recommended are often more valued by us, than those by whom we were made known to them, so the duties of wisdom and virtue, to which we have been, as it were, recommended by

⁷³ The technical terms of the stoical philosophy, like all terms of art, sound awkward in languages in which they were not originally invented; nothing can be more natural than the Greek expressions, *προσέθεαι* and *ἐκκλινειν*.

the original propensities of our nature, are far more estimable in themselves, than all the external advantages which they are fitted to procure. When our lives are harmonized to virtue, when we perceive the agreement of our thoughts and actions to propriety and decorum, the beauty of this concord strikes us as infinitely more desirable than all the ends which it has a tendency to promote; this concord itself becomes the great, or rather the sole, end of all our pursuits; compared with which, health and sickness, riches and poverty, pain and pleasure, are finally considered as objects of little moment, and altogether incapable of shaking the stability of our happiness.

It is in vain that men seek felicity in those objects which depend not on themselves; which, even while they possess, they fear to lose; and which fortune can either give or take away⁷⁴. The feelings of our own minds, which are ever and intimately present to us, must always afford the principal source of our happiness or misery. To a wise man, therefore, every condition of external circumstances, and every situation in life, must be alike indifferent, since there is none wherein he can be placed, in which he may not perform his duty, and render himself an object of approbation and applause to all rational nature. To feel in our own minds the testimony of the whole universe in our favor, and to be sensible, that whatever may be

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The pleasure of observing them.

⁷⁴ Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ φύσει ἐλεύθερα, ἀκώλυτα, ἀπαρεμπόδιστα· τὰ δὲ οὐχ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἀσθενή, δαλὰ, κώλυτα, ἀλλοτρία. Epictet. Enchir. c. ii.

C H A P. XL. the consequences of our conduct, it has been governed by the great rules which the Divinity prescribes, affords a degree of inward satisfaction, to which the greatest outward prosperity can add nothing worthy of calculation; for as a single drop of water is lost in the broad expanse of the Ægean, as a single step is disregarded in the immense distance to India, as the light of a taper is eclipsed by the meridian sun⁷⁵, so the external conveniences of life, and the advantages pertaining to the body, are overwhelmed, obscured, and lost, in the transcendent excellence and incomparable splendor of virtue.

Fortitude.

Those dangers which appear most formidable, and those calamities which appear most dreadful to the vulgar, cannot intimidate or deject the man, who has fortitude to despise the one, and constancy to bear the other. The sage delights in those clouds of adversity, through which his virtue beams forth with peculiar lustre; and rejoices in the kind cruelties of Fortune, which subject him to difficult and glorious combats. Sensible of his own powers, he is happy to measure them against a vigorous antagonist. The victory is not liable to contingences, but depends on himself alone; a consideration sufficient to support him against the number and strength of his enemies⁷⁶. When the firm probity of Regulus submitted his perishable body to be burned and lacerated by the Carthaginians,

⁷⁵ The illustrations given by Cic. de Fin.

⁷⁶ Ανίκητος είναι δυνασσαι, εαν εις μηδενα αλγωνα καταβαινης, ον ον εσι επι σοι νικησαι. Enchir. c. xxv.

he well knew that those revengeful Barbarians could not torture his fortitude, his patriotism, his magnanimity. His mind, guarded by such an assemblage and attendance of virtues, bade defiance to every assault. The mind of Regulus still triumphed; and amidst the painful discription of his frail members, he maintained and fortified the integrity of that part of his nature which properly constitutes the man, and in which alone any permanent happiness or misery can reside.

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From the enthusiasm naturally inspired by the beautiful and august forms of benevolence and magnanimity, the stoics again returned to the speculations of abstract philosophy. In every arrangement or combination of objects, which can be called a constitution or system, the good of each part, they observed, must be relative and subordinate to that of the whole. To illustrate in the constitution most familiar to us, the body of man, the good of each limb and member, considered as something separate and independent, consisted in preserving its natural state, and in never being subjected to any fatigue or hardship, to any pain or uneasiness. But considered as the part of a system, in the good of which its own is necessarily included, this limb or member must often submit to great inconveniences. For the sake of the whole body, the foot must often trample in the dirt, must often tread upon thorns, and sometimes be burned, or lacerated, or even cut off, when such operations are requisite for the safety of the whole system. In refusing to comply, the foot ceases to be a foot;

Resignation.

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in the same manner do *you* cease to be a man, in shrinking from the hardest duties required by the interest of society. But that society itself, as well as every member which it contains, are parts of a larger system, that harmonious whole, whose admirable order and beauty evince the superintendency of infinite wisdom and goodness. Under such government, no absolute evil can exist; and what appears wrong respecting particular parts, must necessarily be right respecting the whole. A wise man will therefore be alike satisfied with every situation in which he may be placed; deeply convinced, that were he acquainted with the whole connexions and dependences of events, that situation would, even to himself, appear the most proper, that could possibly be assigned him. He uses, indeed, such means as prudence directs, to avert calamity; but when that is his lot, he cheerfully submits to the wise dispensation of Providence. The established order of the universe, he knows, is not to be changed by the prayers of men. When *he* prays to the Gods, it is not with a view to alter their wise intentions concerning him: he prays that they would show him the hardest trials with which he must contend, and the severest circumstances in which he must be placed: that by voluntarily accepting those trials, and voluntarily embracing those circumstances, he may prove his confidence in their goodness, and his perfect resignation to their sovereign will⁷⁷.

⁷⁷ Ἄγε δὴ με, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ σὺ ἡ πεπρωμένη,
Ὅποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμι διατεταγμένος,
Ὡς ἔψομαι σπῆλαιος ἠδὲ ἀρκυός.

If our own unmerited misfortunes ought never to occasion us any uneasiness, so neither ought we to be affected by those of our relations, our friends, or our country. When calamity threatens connexions so dear to us, we must exert ourselves strenuously in their behalf; but should our well-meant endeavours be frustrated by circumstances not liable to our control, it would be highly ungraceful and improper to have recourse to unmanly lamentations. The same law of propriety which prompts our active exertions to the good of others, restrains our passive feelings at sight of their distress: the former alone can be useful to *them*; the latter would be both hurtful and dishonorable to *ourselves*.

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XL.

Command
over the
passions.

The stoical philosophy imposed therefore an absolute silence on the soft voice of pity⁷⁸, as well as on the boisterous dissonance of anger, and on all passions in general which were regarded as perturbations and diseases of the mind, that a wise man ought not merely to appease, but utterly to eradicate. As they supposed their imaginary sage capable of attaining this perfection, they inferred that all duties were alike easy to him. *His* actions were

The reason is subjoined,

Εάν δε μη εθέλω, ὅχι ἡττον ἐψομαι.

“We ought to be willing to obey the Gods, since we *must* obey them, whether we are willing or not.”

⁷⁸ Epictetus, however, allows the *appearance* of sympathy with objects in distress, but sternly forbids the reality. Μέχρι μὲν τοι λόγῳ μὴ θάνει συμπεριφερεῖσθαι αὐτῷ (viz. the person afflicted) καὶ τύχῃ συνεπιστενάξαι; προσέχε μὲν τοι, μὴ καὶ ἐσώθῃ συνεπιστενάξῃς; Epictet. Enchir. c. xxii.

C H A P. continually regulated by propriety, and all of them
 XL. therefore equally laudable, whereas those of a fool, or one who substituted passion and caprice in the stead of reason and principle, were all equally blameable. This doctrine, which so nearly resembles that of many Christian divines, "that the greatest virtues of the heathens were but splendid vices," is the source to which all the other paradoxes of the stoics may be traced. Both these Christians and the stoics considered good or bad actions as relative only to the cause which produces them, the affection or character from which they proceed, not to the consequences which flow from them, the good or bad effects which they tend to promote. These consequences and effects, it was observed by the stoics, depended not on ourselves. With regard to us, therefore, they were altogether indifferent; and as such, could not possibly constitute any part of merit or demerit, or become the proper objects of praise or censure.

Vulgar
 estimation
 of actions
 and characters.

The ignorant vulgar indeed, and as such the stoics considered all those who were unacquainted with their philosophy, allowed such contingent circumstances to influence the appreciation of actions and characters; and thence the extraordinary confusion introduced into religion and morality. Of two men, equally vicious, the one may be condemned to obscurity, and bereft of opportunity to exert his wickedness; the other may be raised to power, which he abuses, or intrusted with a sceptre, which becomes an iron rod in his hands. To the bulk of mankind, the second appears a greater

monster than the first. To the philosopher, they appear equally criminal; but the first is a storm which spends its rage in vacuity; the second a cloud, not more tempestuous, that destroys the fair objects accidentally exposed to its violence. In the same manner two men may be equally meritorious, although the one, from the unfavorable circumstances in which he is placed, may resemble a clear stream rolling through a lonesome solitude, while the other, more advantageously situated with respect to external objects, may resemble a beautiful river flowing through a populous valley, supplying the wants of man and other animals, and diffusing abundance and pleasure through the adjoining country, which it fertilizes and adorns.

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The injudicious estimation of virtues and vices, by the effects which they tend to produce, is the source of that extravagant admiration on the one hand, and that excessive severity on the other, which universally characterize the judgments of the vulgar. But a wise man, who examines the first principles of action in the human heart, will neither be dazzled by the splendor of heroes and patriots, nor provoked to undue revenge against illustrious criminals⁷⁹. The civil magistrate, who is intrusted with the interest of society, and who has that interest always in view, must chiefly regard external actions, and consider *them* as sufficient indications of the inward affections and character. It is his business to regulate the lives, not to purify

corrected
by the
stoics.

⁷⁹ Σημεία προκοπώντος ἡδονὰ ψεύει, ἡδονὰ ἐπαινεῖ, etc. Enchir. c. lxxii.

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the hearts, of men. But we may be assured that He, who can penetrate deeper than an earthly judge, governs the moral world by more refined principles, and dispenses rewards and punishments according to a more accurate standard⁸⁰. To avert his anger, superstition tells us to repair the bad consequences of our misconduct; and, as this is often impracticable, therefore commands an impossibility: to regain his approbation, and that of our own breasts, philosophy exhorts us to fix our chief attention, not on effects, which are transitory, but on the cause, which is permanent; to be less anxious about wiping off the stain of particular sins, than solicitous to stop the source from which they all flow. When we have accomplished this great purpose, we have reached the perfection of our nature. For the Deity, who has enjoined virtue as our duty, has placed our happiness in virtue. In performing the task assigned us, we necessarily attain our reward⁸¹.

Philoso-
phy of
Epicurus.

Such is the philosophy of the stoics, which beside containing several contradictions which all the subtilty of the sect was unable to reconcile, evidently supposes a degree of perfection far beyond the weakness of humanity. The system of Epicurus is not less artificial in its texture, and, though humbler in its origin, is equally magnificent in its conclusions⁸². Like the lowly plant,

⁸⁰ Epictet. Enchir. c. xxxviii.

⁸¹ Quod si ita est, ut neque quisquam, nisi bonus vir, et omnes boni beati sint; quid philosophiâ magis colendum, aut quid est virtute divinius. Cicero de Fin. l. iii. ad fin.

⁸² Diogen. Laert. in Aristip. et Epicur.

which, at first feebly emerging from the ground, gradually rises to a stately tree towering to the sky, the philosophy of Epicurus, at first restricting the primary objects of natural desire and aversion to bodily pleasure and pain, by degrees expands itself into the fairest forms of virtue, and enforces the severest lessons of duty. That pleasure and pain are the universal objects of desire and aversion is a truth, he observed, powerfully attested by the consenting voice of all animated nature. Not only men, but children, and even brute animals, could they emit articulate sounds, would declare and cry out, that pleasure is the sovereign good, and pain the greatest evil⁸³. That they are, not only the greatest and most universal, but the *sole* ultimate objects of desire and aversion, Epicurus endeavoured to prove by analyzing our passions, and actions, and virtues, all of which, he pretended, had, in the last instance, nothing farther in view than to procure bodily pleasure, and avoid bodily pain. If we desire power and wealth, it is because power and wealth furnish us with innumerable means of enjoyment. Sensible that the goodwill of the society in which we live, is necessary to our security, we strive assiduously to acquire it, cultivate friendship, exercise benevolence, and practise with diligence and alacrity all those social virtues essential to the public safety, in which our own is included. When it is necessary to reject a present pleasure, in order to attain a greater in future, temperance must moderate the eagerness of

⁸³ Cicero de Finibus, l. i. c. ix. et passim.

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desire; and when it is necessary to encounter a present pain, in order to avoid a greater in future, fortitude must control the dictates of pusillanimity. Justice teaches us to abstain from injuring others, as the only condition on which we can escape being injured by them. And prudence, which, according to Epicurus is the queen of all the virtues, and to which justice, temperance, and fortitude are barely handmaids and attendants, invariably points out to us, and enforces, that course of action which is most conducive to our private comfort and happiness. This course of action is acknowledged by all moralists to consist in the practice of virtue; so that virtue, according to Epicurus, is the only true wisdom, and vice the most short-sighted levity and folly.

His analysis of pleasure and pain.

To illustrate this doctrine, he observed, that though all the modifications of hope and fear ultimately refer to the sensations of bodily pleasure or pain, yet the pleasures and pains of the mind are infinitely more important than their originals. The body can only feel the sensation of the present moment, which can never be of great importance; whereas the mind recollects the past, and anticipates the future. If our mental frame, therefore, be properly adjusted, if our sentiments and judgments be duly regulated, it is a matter of little moment how our bodies be disposed; we may despise its pleasures, and even set its pains at defiance. If pain be violent, experience teaches us that it must be short; it cannot be continued long without becoming moderate, and admitting many

intervals of ease; besides, death is always within our reach, and ready at a call to deliver us, whenever life becomes a burden. C H A P.
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By this kind of philosophical chemistry, Epicurus extracted from the grossest materials, the most sublime principles of wisdom and virtue. His philosophy imposed absolute silence on the passions; since no state, and therefore not the little republic of man, can be happy in sedition. In this tranquillity of mind, he boasted a felicity which external pleasures might vary, but could not increase; and his security of enjoyment he asserted to be equally firm and unalterable with that of the Gods, since the most unbounded duration could not afford greater happiness than arose from reflecting, that all our pleasures and pains are confined within a narrow span. Having adopted the atomic philosophy of Democritus, he rendered it subservient to his morality. The phænomena of nature, he fancied might be explained by the figures and motions of the small particles of matter; and as the universe arose, so did it continue, without the interference of the Gods, those celestial beings, who, enjoying complete happiness in themselves, and totally independent on the actions of men, are neither pleased with our virtues, nor offended by our crimes. Confiding in the certainty of these speculations, he trampled under foot the superstitious terrors of the vulgar, and fortified his mind against the fear of death²⁴.

Bold pretensions of his philosophy.

²⁴ Lucretius, *passim*.

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His character.

Such were the tenets of Epicurus, than whom no philosopher was ever more admired and beloved by his disciples, or more cordially attached to them in affectionate esteem. He is described as a man of the most amiable disposition, of great gentleness and humanity; and, like Eudoxus, who preceded him, and who inculcated the same loose doctrines of religion and morality, extremely temperate with regard to pleasure; a circumstance which failed not to add much reputation to his philosophy. In his character, the firm and manly, were united with the gentler, virtues. When grievously afflicted with the stone, he bore the agony incident to that disease with the greatest constancy; and, in the last day of his life, when his pain had reached a degree beyond which he could conceive none greater, wrote to his friend Hermachus⁸⁵, and recommended to him the children of his favorite disciple Metrodorus, assuring him at the same time, that as to himself, he still was happy, since the smart of his bodily sufferings was more than compensated by the pleasures of his mind, and particularly by the agreeable remembrance of his discoveries; a declaration, however inconsistent it may be deemed with his opinions, highly honorable to the man.

Philosophy of Pyrrho.

Such were the philosophical systems respecting life and happiness, by which the more liberal part of mankind long affected to regulate their sentiments and conduct. The excessive scepticism of Pyrrho,

⁸⁵ Vid. Diogen. Laert. l. x. sect. ix. et Cic. de Finibus, l. ii. c. xxx. et seqq.

which

which none could reduce to practice without meriting the charge of insanity, seems never, even in theory, to have had much vogue among the speculatists of antiquity. In matters of doubtful evidence, indeed, a prudent suspension of judgment had been recommended by Socrates, enforced by Plato, and extended to subjects of every kind by his followers Arcefilas and Carneades⁸⁶. These philosophers, however, in denying certainty, still admitted probability, which they thought sufficient for regulating our judgments and actions. But the extravagant Pyrrho was dogmatical only in maintaining, that no one opinion was more probable than another. The non-existence of sensible qualities, which had been proved by Democritus⁸⁷, Protagoras⁸⁸, and Aristippus⁸⁹, and which is commonly supposed a modern discovery, because the contrary opinion obtained among the schoolmen, probably led Pyrrho to deny the reality likewise of moral qualities and distinctions. As heat and cold, tastes and colors, had no external existence in

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⁸⁶ Because Socrates and Plato doubted some things, these philosophers doubted all, Vid. Cicer. Acad. l. i. They formed, what was called, the New Academy, which held the same tenets with the ancient, only asserting them still less positively.

⁸⁷ See Sextus Empiricus, p. 399.

⁸⁸ Pyrrhon. Hypot. l. i. sect. 216.

⁸⁹ Præterea quoniam nequeant sine luce colores
Esse, neque in luce existant primordia rerum
Scire licet, quam sint nullo velata colore.

Sed ne forte putes solo spoliata colore
Corpora prima manere; etiam secreta teporis
Sunt, ac frigoris omnino, etc. LUCRETIVS, l. ii.

C H A P. XL. bodies, and were mere ideas of the mind; in the same manner, beauty and deformity, virtue and vice, happiness and misery, had no real or permanent cause, but depended, like every thing else, on relation or comparison. Upon this principle, "that all was relative"⁹⁰, "Pyrrho established topics for enabling his sect readily to dispute the truth of all positions whatever, and which were reduced to ten"⁹¹, probably in opposition to the ten categories of the dogmatists. The great patron of Pyrrhonism boasts, that while other philosophers wandered in pursuit of a false and artificial happiness, Pyrrho alone had discovered the true and natural one, and that, by an accident similar to the painter's⁹², who having finished the picture of a dog all to the foam of his mouth, could not, after repeated trials, satisfy himself in painting this last circumstance. Enraged by disappointment, he at length dashed against the canvas the sponge with which he wiped his pencils. Accident produced the effect which he had vainly sought from art; and the foam was represented so naturally, that the picture, though admirable in other respects, was chiefly admired on this account. Fatigued by many painful researches into the nature of truth and virtue, Pyrrho, in the same manner, had discovered that truth and virtue were nowhere to be

⁹⁰ Πάντα πρὸς τι. Sextus Empiric.

⁹¹ Sextus Empiric. Hypothes. Pyrrhon. l. i. c. xiv. et Diogen. Laert. in Pyrrhon.

⁹² Sextus Empiric. l. i. c. xii. Sextus calls the painter Apelles. Pliny, l. xxxv. c. xx. ascribes this accident to Protogenes, and a similar one to Nealcus, in painting a horse.

found; a discovery which produced that moderation and *indisturbance*⁹³, that happy indifference, or rather perfect insensibility, which is as naturally attended by happiness, as a body is followed by its shadow⁹⁴. C H A P.
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In concluding this work with the scepticism of Pyrrho, it is proper to observe, for the honor of Greece, that though the doctrines which that philosopher inculcated can have no other tendency than to unhinge the moral principles, to darken and perplex the mind; yet those systems of his contemporaries, or predecessors, which have been more particularly explained in the present history, amidst all their apparent contradictions, uniformly afford such views of nature and of man, as awaken and cherish our love for both. Established on firm grounds of reason, they evince the indissoluble union of interest with duty, display the beauty of virtue in its brightest charms, and unmask the hideous spectres of fancy and superstition. Conclu-
sion.

⁹³ *Αταραξία*. Sextus Empiric.

⁹⁴ Sextus Empiric. ubi supra, et passim.

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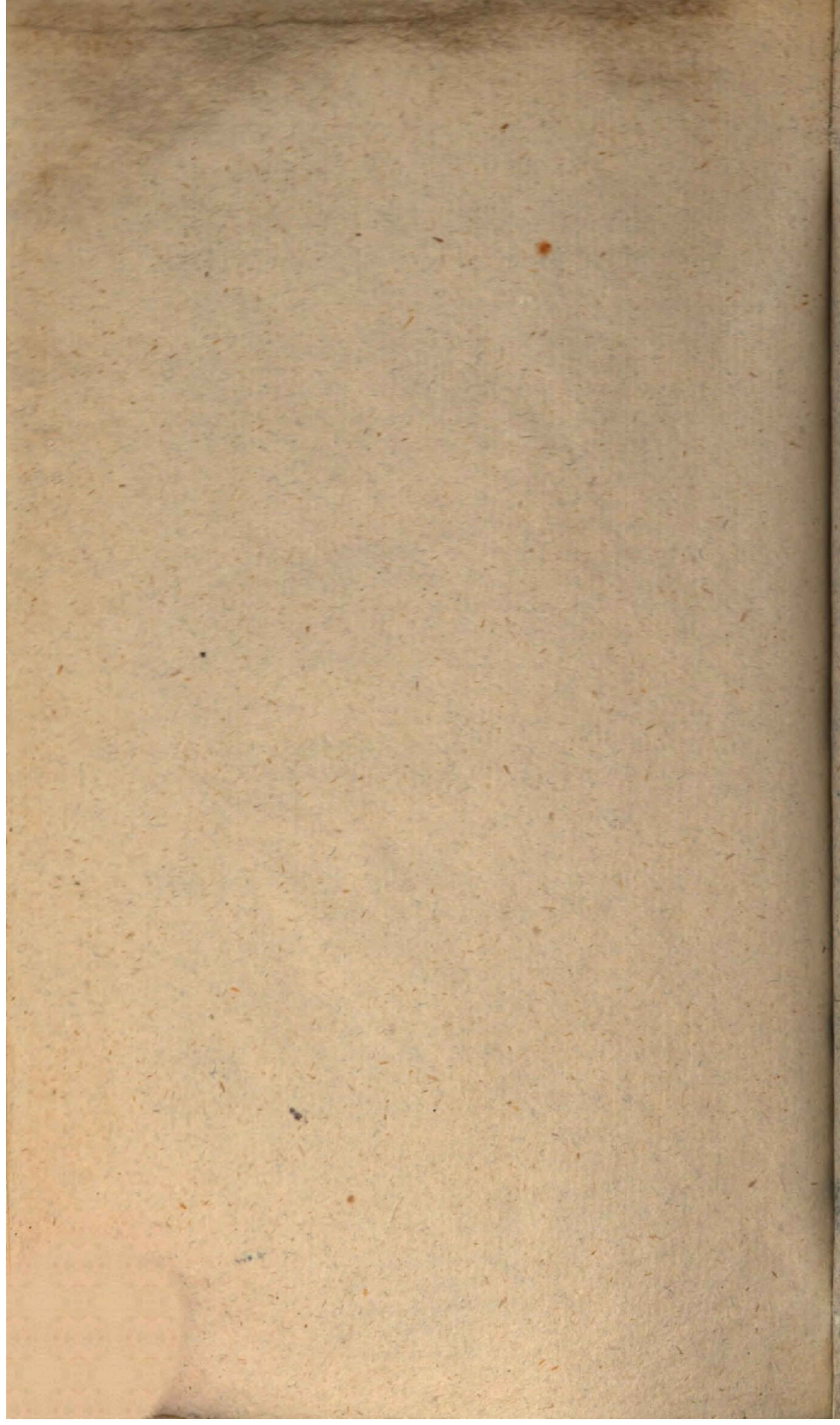
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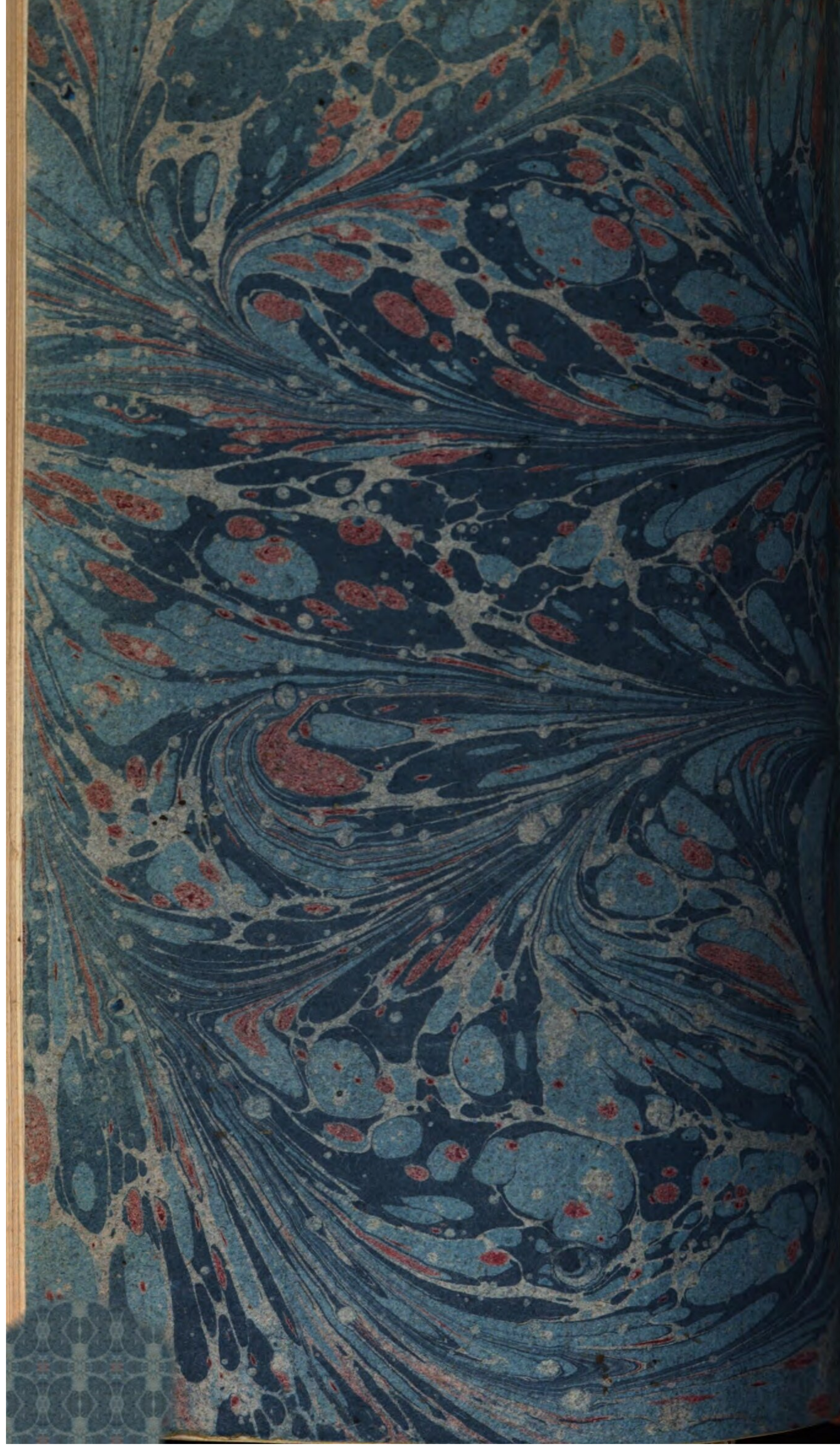
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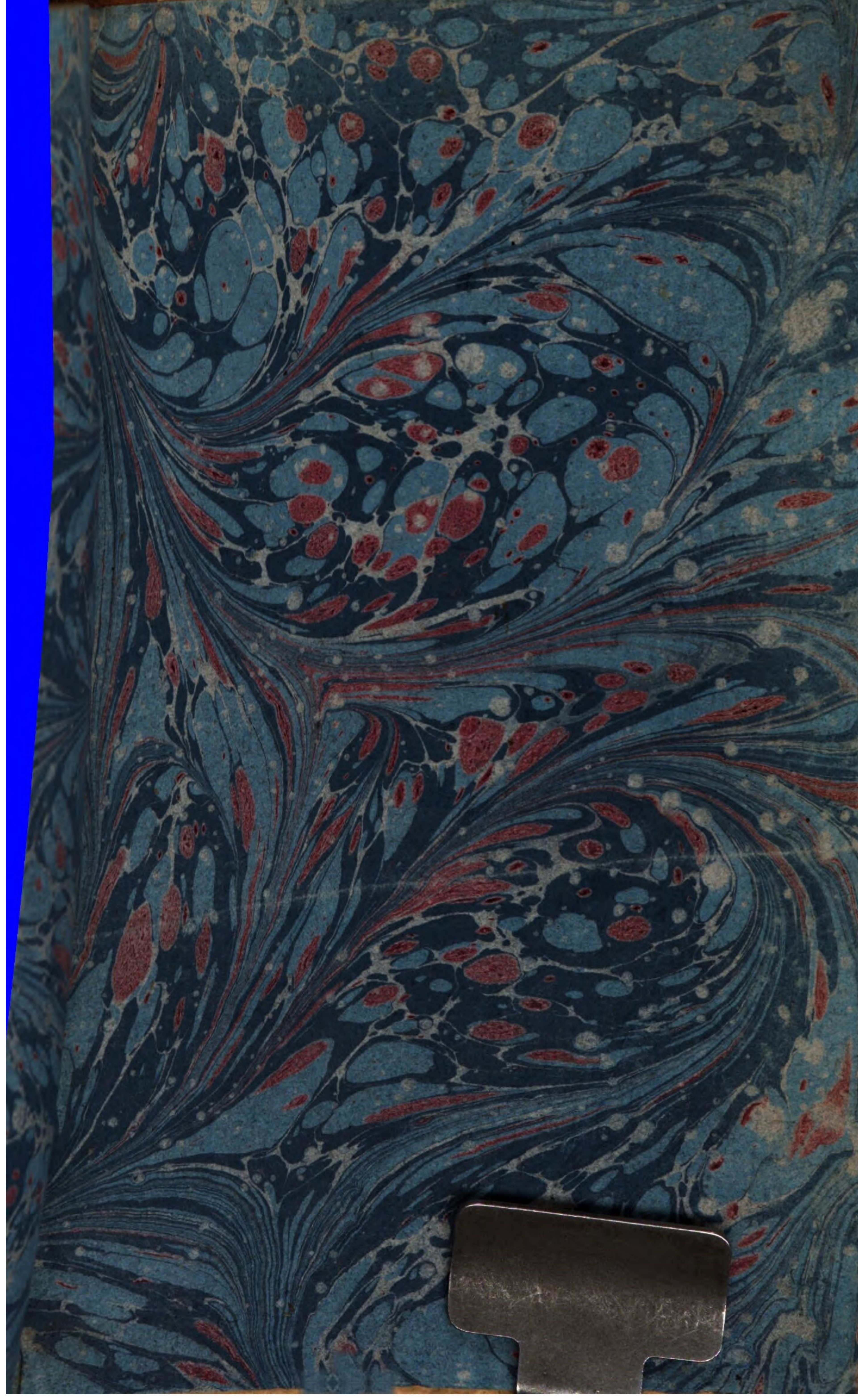
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